

THE
HISTORY

OF THE
GOLDEN AGE OF THE
MERCHANT NAVY

OF THE
MERCHANT NAVY

WITH
NOTICES OF THE LIVES

OF
THE
MERCHANT NAVY

(IN TWO PARTS.)

Part II.—THE LIVES.

BY CHARLES M. CLODE.

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PART II.

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SEAL OF THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF MERCHANT TAYLORS.

THE right to have a common seal appears to have been first conferred upon the Company by Henry the Fourth's charter of 1408, but no seal is known of earlier date than that now in use.

This is circular, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, and of silver. The back of the matrix bears traces of a handle, now cut away to enable the seal to be used in a press.



The device consists of a figure of St. John Baptist, the patron saint of the Company, clothed in his camel's hair robe with an outer cloak, and holding a book on which rests a small lamb with a cross behind it. The lamb and book are executed in very high relief. The saint is surrounded by open country, with rough ground and trees, and on either side of him are a lion and unicorn. In base, and literally beneath St. John's feet, since he stands upon it, is a shield of the arms of the Company, as granted in 1480 : *argent, a pavilion between two imperial mantles purpure, garnished or; on a chief azure, an Holy Lamb within a sun proper.*¹

¹ A lion was substituted for the Holy Lamb, the emblem of the Patron Saint, by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, in 1586 (Part I, pages 36-137).

The marginal legend, which is interrupted in base by the shield of arms, and in the chief of the seal by the saint's nimbus, commences at the dexter side of the shield and is as follows :

S' · CÔE · M'CATORꝥ · SCISSORꝥ · FRAT'NITATꝥ · SŪ · IOH̄S · BAPTĒ · LÔDON
or in full :

SIGILLUM COMMUNE MERCATORUM SCISSORUM FRATERNITATIS
SANCTI IOHANNIS BAPTISTÆ LONDON.

The field of the seal is covered by a lattice or lozengy diaper, the interspaces of which contain alternately a cinquefoil and a fleur-de-lis. The ground of the legend and the chief of the shield are also covered with a minute pouncing as if "frosted."

There can be no doubt that this fine seal was made on the granting of a new charter by Henry VII, in 1502, when the Company first styled itself "The Guild of the Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in the City of London" instead of "The Fraternity of Taylors and Linen Armourers" as heretofore.

The accounts for 1502 are unfortunately lost, so that the cost and the engraver of the seal are alike unknown.

W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE.

13th January, 1889.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

OLIVER, LORD INGHAM, THE OCCUPIER OF THE MERCHANT TAYLORS' PREMISES IN THE YEAR 1331.

Dwelling of Sir Oliver de Ingham purchased in 1331, p. 1.—Ingham a Norfolk man, p. 2.—In the Scotch wars of 1314, p. 2.—Governor of Ellesmere Castle, 1320, p. 2; of Devizes, p. 2.—Seneschal of Gascony in 1326, p. 2.—Guardian of Edward III in 1328, p. 2.—Summoned to Parliament, p. 2.—Royal Commissioner to enquire into city riots, p. 2.—Arrest of Ingham, p. 3.—Seneschal of Aquitaine, p. 3.—Quits London, 1331, p. 3.—Defence of Bordeaux, 1340, p. 3.—Death, 1344, p. 3.—Monument, p. 3.

WE have entered at some length elsewhere¹ into a description of the hall and of its contents, but we have little to guide us to the residential capabilities of the premises, which were conveyed to the Company in May, 1331, as consisting of a principal dwelling-house lying in the three parishes of St. Peter, St. Benedict, and St. Martin, and in the two wards of Cornhill and Broad-street, having a great gate with a sollar over it, abutting on Cornhill, and another great gate in Broad-street. Within these gates a country mansion (with stables, barns, gardens, vineries, and fountains) was to be found. The vendor was Dominus Crepin, a worshipful gentleman, as Stowe describes him, the buyer the King's tent-keeper, appointed to office on the 22nd May, 1319,² at the wage of his predecessor. However, he acquired the estate for the Taylors, and that they, as purchasers, might know more exactly what they had acquired the deed describes it, as the "principal messuage which Sir Oliver Ingham, Knight, did then hold." We propose therefore to give some few particulars of his life, as the occupier when the Taylors and Linen Armourers became owners of the premises.

¹ Part I, page 82.

² John de Yakesley, Pat. Roll, Edward III, part M, 17.

Sir Oliver de Ingham—or, as he afterwards became, Lord Ingham—was a notable man in his time. His family came from Norfolk, an ancestor and a namesake settling in the parish of Ingham in 1183, therefore he bore thereafter the name of “Oliver de Ingham.”

Holinshed introduces him to his readers “as a goodly, lusty, valiant knight, in great esteem with Edward II,” and his actions appear to justify this description. He succeeded to his inheritance by the death of his father, at the age of 23, and in the Scotch wars, which were commenced by Edward in 1314, Ingham accompanied the King. In the year 1320 he was made Governor of Ellesmere Castle, and on the breaking out of Lancaster’s rebellion, in 1322, he aided the King by marching to the west of England for its suppression there. He afterwards became Governor of Devizes and the Sheriff of Chester.

But his services were soon needed in support of the King’s authority abroad, and in 1326–7 he was made Seneschal of Gascony, and as the French King (Charles) had assumed, in derogation of the rights of England, the Government of Guienne, Ingham raised an army of hired soldiers—Spaniards, Arragonese, and Gascoines and with these invaded the duchy, rescued it from the French, and “cheerelie reduced it to the English domain.” This, however, was not all, for he then went upon the sea with other comrades, and within a few days took six score sail of the Normans, and brought them to England.

Upon his return to England he was not suffered to be idle, for on the deposition of Edward II, in 1327, he was appointed one of the twelve guardians of the young King, and made Justiciar of Chester, an office (discharged by deputy) which he held for his life.

It was probably during this period, viz., after his return to and until his departure from England that he was the occupant of the hall. In the first year of the reign he was summoned by writ to Parliament as a Baron, and in the second year he was appointed as Chief Commissioner to enquire into the London riots, which in 1328, during the mayoralty of John Grantham (a Grocer), had arisen in the City, many citizens’ houses being broken open and their goods stolen. Active measures were therefore to be taken against these rioters, and, at the head of the Special Commission issued by the Crown to inquire, arrest, try, and punish the offenders we find Ingham’s name.

When matters were coming to a crisis with Mortimer and the

Queen mother in 1330, arrests were made of Mortimer and his two sons at Nottingham, and in the order of arrest (30th October) Ingham was included and sent as a prisoner to the Tower. Mortimer and some others were tried and executed for high treason; but Ingham was discharged without trial, as being blameless, and in 1331 (writes Barnes) Ingham, "a mighty baron, and of the twelve, appointed for a guide and counsellor to the King," had his patent for "Seneschal of Aquitaine renewed, and not long after was sent over with pretty considerable forces." Thus his occupation of Merchant Taylors' Hall came to an end.

Our interest in Ingham, though lessened, does not altogether cease. Although residing abroad at his government he continued to be summoned to the sixth and fourteenth Parliaments of Edward. In 1337 his province was invaded "and that noble, wise; and valiant captain (Ingham) behaved himself commendably in all his actions, considering his small force," and perhaps the greatest exploit of his life was that which he performed towards the close of it.

In 1340 Edward III saw fit to assert his claim to the throne of France, and to place upon his shield that which still continues as a national emblem, the motto, "Dieu et mon droit." He then called upon the French people to admit his title and submit to his authority. War resulted, and Philip (the French King) launched an expedition against the English in Bordeaux. Suddenly surprised, Lord Ingham had not men enough to defend the walls, and to place the city in a complete state of defence, therefore he resorted to stratagem. Arming all his own men he desired the French citizens to go on with their occupations as in times of peace, and placed open the city gates for the enemy to enter. This they did in disorder or without thought of resistance, when he fell upon and vanquished them utterly. "You have (wrote Edward to the citizens of Bordeaux) by your courage and loyalty purchased to yourselves a name that will be crowned with immortal honour."

In January, 1341, Ingham was recalled, but afterwards reappointed, and held his office until April, 1343, but he never returned home, and died at Bordeaux in the following year, aged 59.

Within the church at Ingham, on the north side of it, is still to be seen Oliver's effigy on a mattress in complete armour, with his gilt spurs and, as he was one of the knights of the noble order, a

garter on his leg. His coat of arms is also to be found in the second pane of the E A window at St. Michael's Church, Norwich, but he has no lineal descendants, and he left only female issue.

Such was the first and only occupying tenant of the Merchant Taylors' Hall premises of which we have any cognizance. We may presume from the station of life which he held that the dwelling house and premises were fitting accommodation for a gentleman, with a hall and chapel, but the former is not the hall which is now standing, nor is the latter to be found at the present day, both must have been removed by the 15th century.

CHAPTER II.

SIR JOHN HAWKWOOD, THE TAYLOR KNIGHT OF
THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Monument at Florence, p. 5.—Hawkwood a Merchant Taylor, p. 5.—Son of a Tanner, p. 5.—Pressed for the French wars of Edward III in 1343, p. 5.—Crosses the Alps in 1360, p. 6.—Joins retinue of Duke of Clarence, p. 6.—Grant of Gregory XI, p. 6.—Declines command in 1378, p. 6.—Commands Brigade of St. George, p. 6.—Enters the service of the Florentines 1388, p. 6.—Death in 1398, p. 6.—Funeral, p. 6.—Monuments, p. 6.—Authorities for his life, p. 7.—Other lives are of distinguished guildsmen, p. 7.

THOSE who have visited Florence will have gone to the cathedral church and found upon the wall a monument painted in honour of an Englishman, known by the name of Aguto in Italian history. Those who are members of the Merchant Taylors Company, when they learn that he was also a member of their own Guild, will take an especial interest in their countryman.

The monument we refer to is that of Sir John Hawkwood, who acted a conspicuous part in European military affairs during the latter part of the 14th century.

The extant records of the Guild commence at a later period, and therefore no entry of his apprenticeship or of his freedom can, as in many other instances, be produced, but as "the worthy brother of the mystery, John Stow," who wrote within 150 years of Hawkwood's death, and as Webster in his "Pageant," written for the Guild, and to be recited before his fellow citizens in 1624, both claim him as a Taylor, we are content to rest his right to membership on this title.

Sir John Hawkwood sprang from the lower sphere of life, and became by the force of his own character a man of accepted position before his death. His father, as Stow in his Chronicle of Richard II's reign tells us, was a tanner of Sible Hedingham, Essex, and his son, the future Sir John, was bound apprentice to a tailor in the city of London. He was pressed for the wars in France during the reign of Edward III, and soon (wrote Fuller), "turned his needle into a sword, and thimble into a shield," serving first as soldier, next as an archer, and ultimately as

corporal and knight, having received these two latter advancements from the hands of Edward III.¹

At the conclusion of the war with France by the Peace of Bretigny, in the year 1360, Hawkwood joined a body of five or six thousand English horsemen and made great spoil in the eastern part of France. He crossed the Alps in 1361, and his first feat of arms there was to take prisoner the Green Count of Savoy. After this he joined the retinue of the Duke of Clarence, King Edward's son, about to marry the Duke of Milan's daughter, whose brother Barnabi then asked his aid in the war which he was waging against the State of Mantua, and as his recompense offered him his daughter, the Lady Dominica, in marriage.

In 1376 Pope Gregory XI bestowed on him the two castles of Colignola and Bagnacavallo, near Faenza, the earliest instance on record of a grant to an alien. These he sold in 1381, but to this hour the traveller finds a record of him in the Strada Aguto, which tradition affirms to have been made for military purposes by his orders.²

In May, 1378, the Council of Ten offered him a large sum to ravage the Paduan territory, which he declined to do, as the Lord of Padua was his friend.

In 1388 800 Englishmen (the Brigade of St. George), consisting of men-at-arms and archers, seceded from a larger corps commanded by Sir John Belton, and appointed Sir John Hawkwood their Captain. He exchanged the Pisan service for that of the Florentines, by whom his talents as a bold and fortunate commander were duly appreciated, and he seems to have continued in their service until his death, which happened on the 6th November, 1398, at his house in the street near Florence, called Pulverosa.

His funeral was one of great magnificence; his bier was adorned with gold and jewels, supported by the first persons in the Republic, and attended by the whole body of the citizens to the church of St. Reparata, where a portrait was put up by public decree on the dome of the church, mounted on a pacing gelding, drest in armour, with a surcoat flowing from his shoulders. This monument (described in Vol. 18, "Arch.") is still extant and easily found; but that raised to his memory in his own parish church has perished. From the description given of the latter in Morant's "*History of Essex*" (Vol. 2, p. 287), it appears to have

¹ Mr. Rawdon Brown says Hawkwood was a born vassal of John De Vere, Earl of Oxford, and that he went to France under his command.

² Page lxxvii, Cal. of State Papers (Venetian).

been a tomb "arched over, and engraven to the likeness of a hawk flying in a wood." A chantry for his soul as well as for the souls of John Oliver and Thomas Newington, who were possibly his military companions, was founded, both in his own parish church and the priory of Castle Hedingham.¹

Those who are curious to learn more of this worthy will find his life given by the older authorities in Vol. 6, "*Bibliotheca Top. Brit.*," pages 21 to 45; by Stow in his "*Chronicles of the Reign of Richard II.*," page 308; and in Vol. 1 "*Froissart's Chronicles*," page 574 (Smith, 1839); and of the modern one in Mr. Rawdon Brown's preface to *Cal. Stat. Papers* (Venetian Correspondence, Vol. 1), Hawkwood's Letters from 7th May, 1377, to 18th October, 1379, a recent work by Signor Osio, *Documento Diplomatici Trattati Dagli Archivs Milanisi*, and one Macmillan is about to publish written by Mr. F. Marian Crawford.

The other lives in this volume will illustrate the "early history of the Guild," as being of those who were eminent citizens. For these materials have been gathered up from the Corporation and Guild Records, sources of information which if made more available for reference by being either indexed or calendered would afford abundant illustration of civic life in the Tudor period.

These lives will show that the benefits derived from the Guild organization were a monopoly in trade, which has long since been abolished, and a sustentation in poverty and old age, which has long since been secured by a national poor law. But these benefits entailed sacrifices on the citizen, who was under an obligation, which was enforced by imprisonment, to support the Guild, by personal service in the various offices and by pecuniary contributions when assessed for such. This obligation has no present existence, and therefore the citizen now voluntarily joining a Guild is led to do so from other inducements.

¹ The Society of Antiquaries possess an engraved portrait of him, published in the year 1806.

CHAPTER III.

SIR JOHN PERCYVALE, MASTER 1485, LORD MAYOR
1498. FOUNDER OF MACCLESFIELD SCHOOL.

Percyvale mentioned on the Taylors' Records, p. 8.—First Lord Mayor of the Company, p. 8.—Prior Sheriffs, p. 8.—Native of Macclesfield, p. 9.—Date of birth, p. 9.—Position of Company at his Mastership, p. 10.—His feast, p. 10.—License for it, p. 10.—Gifts of plate, p. 11.—His Marriage, p. 11.—His wife's prior history, p. 11.—Carver to Sir Henry Colet, Lord Mayor, p. 13.—Nature of the office, p. 13.—Ceremonial of a feast, p. 14.—Commencement of it, p. 14.—Note on almery, p. 14.—Carver's duties, p. 14.—Named for Sheriff, p. 15.—Lived in Lombard Street, p. 15.—Endowment for daily service at St. Mary's, Woolnoth, p. 15.—Knighted, p. 15.—General merchant, p. 15.—Lord Mayor, p. 15.—Grant of money for expenses, p. 16.—Loan of plate, p. 16.—State Sword, p. 17.—Established Grammar School at Macclesfield, p. 17.—Benefactions to the Merchant Taylors, p. 18.—Death, p. 19.—Lady Percyvale, fined by Star Chamber, and death, p. 20.—Her School at Wike St. Mary's, p. 20.—Transferred to Launceston, p. 21.—Benefactions to the Merchant Taylors, p. 21.—Note of wills of Sir John and Lady Percyvale, pp. 18 and 19.

WE come now upon a Taylor whose life we can connect with the Records of the Corporation of London, and of his Company, that of Sir John Percyvale, the first in a series of guildsmen who recruited London from the country—who rose to eminence in the Guild, and then to eminence in the Corporation.¹ How he passed through the various stages of London citizenship we have already shown, and his career marked an event of some importance in the history of the Company, as being the first of his craft that was raised to the dignity of “the Mayor of London.”

It is somewhat remarkable that although the Mercers had produced thirty-four, the Grocers thirty-two, the Drapers twenty-five, and even our friends the Skynners six Mayors, yet until this election no Taylor had been chosen to that office. Sheriffs had sprung from the craft, and a candidate for the mayoralty had been proposed, but no Mayor elected until the subject of this memoir was chosen in the year 1498.

His predecessors in the office of Sheriff were three in number : the first in the list was Ralph Holland, in 1429, whom we have

¹ Part I, chapter I.

already referred to¹; then Richard Morden in 1442, who took part in that ordinance of the Common Council against Sunday trading which was passed in this year; and lastly, John Stone, in 1464, who was Warden in 1439, and a donor of plate to the Company.²

It is not known that he had any hereditary connection with the Company, although in the account books for 1399–1400 there is an entry of a receipt of 13s. 4d. for the admission of “Dame Margaret Percivale” under a page headed “De Confrers.” And our records show that one “John Percivall” filled the office of “Serjeant to the Mayor” in 1464–5 and received 8d. from the Company “to taking to Newgate Henry Clough, tailor, for dishonourable words used by him against the mystery of Skynners.”³ We have no means of identifying either with the subject of this memoir, who was born, as he himself declares, “hard by the town of Macclesfield,” although Strype states, that he was the son of Roger Percyvale of London.

The better to realise his life let us assume Sir John Percyvale to have been 70 years of age when he died; he must then have been born in 1437, and his life may be apportioned thus: When admitted to the freedom of the city (say) in 1458, he would be 21 years of age; when Sheriff in 1486 he would be 49 years; when Lord Mayor in 1498 he would be 61 years: and on his death in 1507 he would be 70 years of age.

It was in June of the year 1485 that he was elected Master of the Taylors and Linen Armourers, having (although the fact has no record) passed through the offices of Renter and Upper Warden of the Company.

His earlier life had been passed in the troublous times of civil war, and in later years he must have taken part in the political controversies of which London was the centre. On Edward IV's death he must have seen the rights of his infant son set aside and the crown, by the speech of Richard and his persuasion of the citizens at Guildhall, obtained by that usurper. Then followed the struggle of the rival factions which was closed at Bosworth field, when he and his fellow citizens went out as far as Shoreditch to meet Richmond and to bring him to the Tower that social order of some sort might be restored. After that there came upon the city the peril of pestilence, when (as Stow relates) three Sheriffs and three Mayors fell victims to the plague in eight days.

¹ Part I, page 135.

² Part I, page 92.

³ Memorials, page 520.

But with regard to his Guild, matters bore a brighter aspect, as no social disorders were incident to that government. For 250 years it had enjoyed chartered rights; it then possessed the largest hall in London, an alliance with the various religious guilds, a chapel and chaplains, an increasing real estate, a numerous constituency, and finally the monopoly of an extensive trade. The Guild was governed by ordinances made by all the Guildsmen openly assembled in their common hall. The officers were annually elected, and every enrolled freeman qualified for office, and, if elected, bound to serve in it. In alms there was liberal provision against want, and by association every Taylor was made reputable.

The ordinances of Percyvale's time do not exist amongst the Company's records, except so far as they may be in substance the same as those of 1507, but we have an entry of his election feast on St. John's day, and of his unintentional non-observance of the ordinances relating to it.

The record of the Master's feast is in these rough entries, which are the only existing accounts of this period :

" Lune xij ^o Mensis Junii in presencia Magistir et custodium.							
Paid for hyring of a barge to fette the King Henry the							
VII th ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	xiijs.
Paid to Crane (probably the choirmaster of the Chapel							
Royal) for him, his childryn, and his orgyns for the							
same barge							
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	iijs. viij ^d .
Paid for a kyldyrkyn of bere and brede							
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	ijs. ijd.
Paid for tabret the same tyme							
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	iijs.
Item another tabret							
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	xxij ^d .
Item for bote hire							
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	ijd."

It would seem from the entry of 19th of the same month that the Master had taken too much upon himself in having a feast without the licence of the whole body of the Fellowship; for although the Charter of Richard II gives to the *Company* an authority to hold a meeting or assembly, for their Feast of St. John the Baptist, which otherwise would have been unlawful, it affords to the *Master* no sanction for using the funds or hall of the Company without *their* licence.

"This day it was shewyd by the Maister that where as an ordinance is made afore tyme that the Maister at the Quarter day afore Midsomer day should ax lycence of the body of the Feloship for the dyner of the morn after Midsomer day in payn of xxs. it was not axid at the quarter day whereof the Maister axit a pardon

of the xxiiij (*i.e.*, as we understand the entry the Court of Assistants) according to the ordinance.”

Of his mastership few records are extant, but as a consequence of it the Company received a gift of plate when he left the chair, which is thus entered in the Inventory of 1512:—

“2 gilt pottes, with bayles of the gyfte of Sir John Percyvale, Knight, late Mayre of London, pois 251 vnces.”

And in a later Inventory of 1609, thus:—

“Two greate Fflagons, guilt, of the guift of Sir John Percivall, weying two Hundreth fforthy eight ounces.”

It was during or soon after his mastership that he married Thomasine, the widow of one of his colleagues in the Company, Henry Galle, a member of a well known family, William being Master of the Company in 1471, who died in London of the sweating sickness, then raging.

Of this lady the early history cannot be better given than in the words of Gilbert,¹ the historian of Cornwall, to the following effect:—

Writing of Wike St. Mary, he continues, “This was the birth-place of that famous minion of fortune and example of charitable benevolence, Thomasine Bonaventure. Whether so called from her success in worldly affairs, or from her ancestors, is altogether unknown to me; most certain it is she was born of poor parents about the year 1450, tempore Henry VI, but not so poor but that her father had a small flock of sheep that depastured on the wastrell of Wike St. Mary downs or moor, whereof she was the shepherdess,¹ who on a certain day in that place doing this office, it happened that there passed by a London mercer or draper, Thomas Bumsby, that traded in this country, who was going to visit his customers in those parts, and gather up such monies as there were due from them to him for such wares as he sold. This gentleman, at first sight, observing the beauty of Thomasine, desired to talk with her, and, after some discourse, found her discreet answers suitable to the beauty of her face, much beyond her rank and degree. Then inquiring into her circumstances, as to her riches, and understanding that she was poor, and she like wise inquiring into his wealth, and where he lived, which was as aforesaid; whereupon he told her, if she would go to London and reside with him as a servant,

¹ See Carew, page 282, Lord Dunstanville's edition.

he doubted not but it would be very conducive to her wealth and preferment.

“Thomasine replied, that she was under the guardianship of her father and mother, and that she could not accept his proposal without their consent; but if they were made acquainted therewith, and approved thereof, and he appeared to them to be such a person as he pretended, she knew nothing to the contrary but that she might embrace his offer.

“Whereupon this Londoner forthwith applied himself to her parents, and gave verbal assurances, that if they would permit their daughter Thomasine to go to London, and become a servant to him, she should not only have good wages and be well used, but in case he happened to die while she was with him, he would so effectually provide for her that she should not have occasion to try the friendship of any other person afterwards; and to strengthen those his proposals, he produced some of his acquaintance and debtors in those parts, who satisfied her parents as to his reputation and integrity for what he promised.

“Upon which report Thomasine’s parents consented to his request, so that soon after she was conveyed or carried up to London and entered as a servant in this gentleman’s house, when she demeaned herself very well, to the good liking of himself and family; when it so happened that in a few years after, this tradesman’s wife sickened of a mortal distemper and died, and some time after Thomasine and her master were solemnly married together as husband and wife, who then, according to his promise, endowed her with a considerable jointure in case of her survivorship; and about two years after, having no issue, he died; and by his last will and testament further made her his sole executrix, leaving her a rich widow whom he took a poor servant.

“This dower, together with her youth and beauty, procured her to the cognizance of divers well deserving men, who thereupon made addresses of marriage to her, but none of them obtained her affection but only Henry Galle, an eminent and wealthy citizen of London, to whom, after he had made another augmentation of jointure in case of her survivorship, she was accordingly married, and lived in great amity and reputation with him as a wife for some years, till in fine this Mr. Galle sickened of a mortal distemper whereof he died, and left Thomasine a richer widow than he found her, aged about thirty years.

“After which the fame, virtue, wealth, and beauty of the said Thomasine spread itself over the city of London, so that persons

of the greatest magnitude for wealth and dignity there courted her; and amongst the rest it was the fortune of John Percivall, Esq., to prevail with her to become his wife."

The earliest notice in civic—as distinguished from guild—matters that we have of Percyvale is in the mayoralty of Sir Henry Colet, the Mercer, and father of the then future Dean and the founder of St. Paul's school. The Colet family will always hold a distinguished place in civic history; and their characters when they lived were appreciated by their fellow citizens. Sir Henry Colet, though comparatively young in life, was admitted in the 4th and 5th Edward IV (1464) to the freedom of the Taylors Company,¹ and when he came into official relationship with Percyvale in 1486, he was filling the office of Mayor for the first time, as he was again elected (in 1495) to that office.

The occasion was on Percyvale acting as Carver for the Lord Mayor at the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude. The Lord Mayor's household establishment embraced three Serjeant Carvers² and a Carver's young man—but the reader will not suppose Percyvale to have been one of these officials; for the service of the hall upon a great banquet was yielded by the squire to the knight, and the sons of nobles and of Kings carved and did service as part of their chivalric education.³

In the Court of the Sovereign and in the houses of nobles the office of "Carver," as one of honour, came sometimes before and sometimes after that of "Cupbearer." In the procession of Prince Henry,⁴ before referred to, the "Carver," in his robes "came before the Controller," and in the establishment⁵ of Henry VIII (17th year) the Cupbearers were the Earl of Jersey, Lord W. Howard, and Sir Francis Bryan; and Carvers were Lord Neville, Lord Clinton, and Edward Rogers, each receiving fifty marks,⁶ and at the banquet on the enthronement of George Neville as Archbishop of York (who by-the-by was an honorary member of the Taylors Company) in 1465, the Lord Willoughby came first as Carver, and Lord John of Buckingham as Cupbearer.⁷

¹ Memorials, page 620.

² Moorgate was allotted for the dwelling of the Lord Mayor's Carvers. Denter's Cripplegate, page 83.

³ Vol. II, page 76, Parker's Domestic Arch.

⁴ Part I, page 30.

⁵ Page 168.

⁶ Brewer (Vol. I, page cviii), in writing of wages in Henry VIII's reign says the Speaker had 100*l.*, the Chief Carver 50*l.*, the Cupbearer 20*l.*; and in Prince Henry of Wales's (1610) establishment Sir Henry Arthur Manwaring was Carver with 20*l.* for yearly wages (page 323).

⁷ Vol. VI, Let. Col., page 2.

Percyvale, therefore, as an act of courtesy to Colet accepted the office of "Carver" during the year of his mayoralty, and the scene of the banquet which led to his advancement to the office of Sheriff was probably Merchant Taylors' Hall, for the Mayor's Feast was held there in alternate years until 1502.

The ceremonial of a feast was great in those early days. The cloth was laid with due observances by the servants.¹ The salt was set in definite places in the Hall according to the number of and rank of the expected guests. Then the basyns and ewers were taken with much ceremony to the seats of the chief guests. Nobles holding the basyn and towel for the King, and the Esquire for the Baron.² As this ceremony commenced the feast,³ none washed till the Lord Mayor had set the example—

"The Company having washed and seated themselves at table, the Chaplain stood up, and in a loud voice asked a blessing. The Almoner then entered, bearing in one hand his rod of office, and in the other the alms-dish, which he set upon the table. The Carver, who stood by, commenced his duty with an act of charity. 'To serve God first,' he placed a loaf upon the dish, to which during the repast he added frequent contributions. It was the Almoner's office to look after the broken meat, to see that the domestics swept with the voiding knife even the crumbs and fragments into the maunds, or alms-baskets."⁴

The meats were brought to table on the spit, and when carved and placed on another dish, each guest took from it what pleased him, cut it with his own knife, which he brought in a clasp with him. Thus as part of the equipment of Chaucer's Liveryman—

"Here knyfes were ichaped not with bras,
But al with silver wrought put clene and wel."

The practical duties of a Carver are thus set out in Rhodes:⁵ "In some places the Carver doth use to show and set down and goeth before the course, and beareth no dish, and in some places he beareth the first dish and maketh obeysance to his master, and

¹ Part I, page 90.

² At the banquet to the Emperor Charles V, the king and queen did wash together, the Duke of Buckingham giving the water, and the Duke of Suffolk holding the towel.—Stowe's Annals, page 510.

³ Our English Home, page 55.

⁴ The broken meat thus collected from the table was safely locked in the Almery to be distributed "not to boys and knafes nother in the hall, nother out of the hall, ore be wasted in Soperys ore dyners of grosings, but wisely, temperatly, and withoute bate or betyng be hit distributed and deportyd to poure men, beggars, syke folke and febull." Such a distribution being still the custom of the Merchant Taylors.

⁵ By Furnival, London, 1868, page 67.

setteth it downe covered before the degree of a knight, or else not used to take the covers and set them by. Also the Carver hath authority to carve for all his master's messe, and also unto other that syt joyning by them of the List."

It was in this office that Percyvale was serving when Sir Henry Colet drank to him as Sheriff for the ensuing year, bade him cover his head, come up to the higher table on the dais now standing in the Hall, and join the party as one of the guests.¹

The first great advancement thus came upon Percyvale, and he was prepared to meet it, for he had established himself in a good house in Lombard Street in St. Mary Woolnoth,² to which church he ultimately gave an endowment for a daily service, possibly at such an hour as he had elsewhere attended, viz., "at about vj of the klok in the morning so that the mass may be done before vij of the klok in the morning, to that intent the parishioners and others thereabouts disposed to tak businesse and lawful occupation may have ther mass betymes, and so go to business to the pleasure of God and gode continuance of the world."

The accession of Henry VII and the battle of Stoke closed the great War of the Roses, and upon the King coming to London after the latter event in 1587, the Mayor and Corporation went out to meet him at Hornsey Park, where Percyvale was dubbed a knight.

Such a man was Percyvale, but what was his business or lawful occupation except that of cloth must be left to conjecture. We find he had a licence to export 500 quarters of corn in February, 1487, and to import 100 gallons of wine from Gascony and Aquitain in November, 1488. So that he was possibly a general merchant, and a man of more than ordinary mark in the city, for though not holding office his name appears as one of the guests present on the 11th November, 1494, at the great feast given on the occasion of Prince Henry being made Duke of York.

We have no particular record of Percyvale's life, or of his contemporaries in the Guild, but Stephen Jenyns was elected Sheriff, and served with him when he became Mayor of London in 1498, the same year in which the gardens of Moorfields were turned into archery grounds for the use and training of the citizens in archery.

¹ Holinshed, Vol. III, page 484, and page 14, *ante*.

² The house 71 occupied by the General Steam Navigation Office. As to this house see Part I, page 227 and page 258, *post*.

What grant a Mayor should receive from the Common Box or Treasury, was a point to be decided by the Guild. They had no precedent to guide them, as they had never yet had to bear the cost of a mayoralty.

The only trace we have of their decision is found in these extracts from the Treasury accounts:—

“Temporo Venerabilis Viri Thomæ Bromeflete Mağri Artis Scissoꝝ london, A^o gře 1498.

“Be it in mynde that the 20 daye of Octobre, In the 14 yere of the Reigne of Kyng Henry the 7th, there was taken oute of the Tresory accordyng unto thaggrement of the counceyll of the crafte to gyders assembled in the parlour bilongyng to this Hall, the 15 day of Octobre last passed, by wey of gyfte w^t the good will and consent of the feliship that they bere and owe vnto the right honorable Sir John Percyvall, Knyght, of late electe aud chosen into thoffice of Mayraltee of this Citee, towards his charges 40l.

“Also, the same daye and yere, there was taken oute of the same tresoury for certeyn thinges of new made and charges at this same tyme, as trumpet, banars, and waytes and wages, w^t other thinges necessary, graunted w^t the consent of the councell afforsaid, as in the boke of Recordes therof made more playnly appereth 7l. 4s.

“These beyng present, the Maister Fitz-Willm, T. Pole, H. Acton, Wardeyns Dupleage, Wylford, Nynes, late Maisters John Dogete, T. Howden and Henry Mayour.”

This precedent was afterwards followed, but the amount granted was ultimately increased to 100l. until a comparatively recent date, when it ceased, and the Guildsman on election to the Court agreed not to claim it from the Company.

Following upon this grant came, we presume, the application for the loan of plate for the feast of St. Symon and St. Jude, as after an interval of ten days we find this entry :

“Be it had in mynd that the last daye of the said moneth of Octobre Anno ꝑdco there was taken oute of the Tresoury for the right honorable Sir John P^ocyvall, knyght, Mayre of the city of London by way of prest this plate folowyng perteigning to the craft of Taillours of the said Citee, first, 2 basyns gilt with the Holy

Lambe in the botome, 2 basyns with 2 Ewers parcell gilt with the H^y lambe in the botome and the lyddes of the ewers, 2 basyns with 2 ewers of M^r Swannes' gift, 2 potell potts p^lcell gilt with the h^y Lambe in the lydds 6 bolls p^lcell gilt with a cover with the holy lambe in sonne gilt as it shall appear more at large in 2 bills indented of the said p^lcells. There beyng present the Master M^r Pem^blton Aldreman William Fitzwilliam and Hugh Acton Wardeyns and Henry Mayour Clerk."

We have no extant cash books of the Master's expenditure, but it would seem from the inventory of 1512 as if the Company provided "a sword of state" used, as the emblem of supreme authority, during the mayoralty, thus :—

" Itm, a swerde wherof the Crosse and pomell is plated with siluer and ouergilt, whiche late was occupied by S^r John Percyvale and S^r Stephen Jenyns, late Mayres of this Citee.

" Itm, 3 scaberdes perteignyng to the same swerd, wherof the chief is rychely browdered with thise wordes, sequere iusticiam and invenies vitam.

" The 2^{de} is of cloth of gold, both chaped and gyrdelled with siluer and ouergilt, and the 3^{de} is of blak velivet w^t a chape of siluer and ouergilt, w^t a lyke corsse and w^t a bocle and pendaunt."

In the same inventory are found "8 trumpet banners which were made when Sir John Percyvale was Mayre."

But Percyvale was not only the first Mayor, but the first school founder from the Guild, and when he became such, education was little favoured, and he was acting in advance of others of the period in which he lived: for his school was the twenty-ninth founded in England, and the eleventh founded in Henry VII's reign. Thus in 1502 he made provision for a free grammar school in his native town of Macclesfield for teaching "gentlemen's sons and other good men's children of the town and country thereabouts," and connected with it a chauntry.

The necessity for education is best explained in his own words :

"In the county of Chester and especially about the town of Macclesfield, fast by which I was born, God of His abundant grace doth send to the inhabitants copious plenty of children to whose learning and bringing forth in cunning and virtue right few teachers and schoolmasters are in this country, whereby many children for lack of such teaching fall to idleness and live disso-

lutely all their days." And the best remedy for this state of things was the school which he then established, and which still flourishes, with an income, as a recent report shows, of 1,399*l.* per annum.¹

Having made this disposition of his estate in favour of the place of his birth, Percyvale was not forgetful of London, as the city of his commercial prosperity, or of his guild. By his will of February, 1507, he made provision, as we have previously stated, for a daily service in the parish church; and then he made such for an obit on the anniversary of his death.

By the same will,² dated February, 1507 (kept for many years with great reverence by the parish officers in the church) after leaving some small annual payments amounting to 5*l.*, to the poor he gave the residue of his real estate "to the common box of the Fraternity to the maintenance and supportation of the common charge and need."³

¹ Vol. XVII Endowed Schools Commissioners' Report, page 867. Ormerod writes that the school was refounded by Letters Patent of 25th April, 5 Edward VI, which take no notice of Percyvale being the donor of the original endowments, Vol. III, page 366, History of Cheshire.

² Stow credits him with having given money by will for the restoration or building a bell tower of St. Katherine, Christ Church.

³ JOHN PERCYVALE.

"*Date*.—1507, February 21st (18 Henry VII).

"*Parcels*.—Twelve messuages or tenements being set and lying together in Lombard Street, in the Parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, Ward of Langbourne, on the north side of the same street.

"*Donees*.—Master and Wardens of Merchant Tailors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, in the City of London, and to their successors for evermore.

"*Conditions, Trusts, and Uses*.—Out of issues and profits of the aforesaid twelve messuages—

"(1) To repair the aforesaid tenements.

"(2) To maintain two priests to be called the "Chauntry Priests of St. John the Baptist," at a salary of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* paid quarterly.

"[These priest's duties were, as already given, for daily service there and always praying for testator's and wife's souls.]

"(3) To keep the testator's obit or anniversary." To cause a masse to be said for testator's soul by one of the four orders of Friars and spend therein 10*s.*

"(4) Yearly at the said obit to distribute and dispose in almes among poor householders of St. Mary, Woolnoth, etc., 10*s.*; 'peny mele, two peny mele, grote mele, or otherwise after their discretions."

"(5) For the Master and Wardens and for 'their labourers coming to the said obit' the following payments:—The Master, 3*s.* 4*d.*; each Warden, 1*s.* 8*d.*; the Clerk and Beadle, 6*d.* each.

"(6) Yearly to the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, 6*s.*, for the reparation of the bells and ornaments of the said Church.

^a Part I, page 139 *ante*.

Sir John Percyvale died without issue soon after the date of his will, and was buried in his parish church of St. Mary Woolnoth. His mansion devised to the Company was the usual place of residence for such of the Company as filled civic offices, and before it was sold in 1674 had been selected as the site of the Royal Exchange when tenanted by Sir William Harper, whose widow

"(7) 30s. in coals for the poor of St. Mary Woolnoth.

"Total of above payments, 17*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

"*Residue.*—'I woll shale alway remayne to the Common Box of the Fraternity to the maintenance and supportation of the common charge and need.'

"Provisions for gift over in case of default by said Master and Wardens in the performance of this will, 1st, to parson and Churchwardens of St. Mary Woolnoth; 2nd, to the Master and Bretheren of St. Thomas Acon; and 3rd, to the Mayor and Citizens of London.

"DAME THOMASIN PERCYVALE.

"*Date.*—1508. February 12th.

"*Parcels.*—Six messuages, parish of St. Martin-in-the-Vintree, and one messuage and garden, parish of St. Deny's Backchurch, Fenchurch Street, all purchased of Sir John Perthe, of Lullington, and recovered in a writ of right against Thomas Randall, Hugh Acton, and Thomas Speight, tenants to the freeholder, and now occupied as under:—two by John Charles (Merchant Taylor), one by Roger Jeryst, one by John Clarke (Merchant Tailor), one by B. Somerset (Haberdasher), one by James Powell (Haberdasher) one by John Prest (Carpenter).

"[After reciting husband's will].

"*Donees.*—Master and Wardens of Merchant Tailors of the said fraternity and their successors for ever.

"*Uses, Conditions, and Trusts.*—To the intent that they hold, keep and observe all the following 'articles' and 'points' of this my will.

"(1) To repair the said tenements.

"(2) To pay annually 26*s.* 8*d.* to each of the Chantry priests appointed under her husband's will.

"(3) 20*s.* per annum to the Clerk of St. Mary Woolnoth for the time being, who sings, under the will of S. Eyer and H. Brice, at the Mass of St. Mary, and to the intent that the said Clerk, with nine children at the least, shall keep an antempne of St. John the Baptiste at the tomb of Sir John Percival.

"(4) 26*s.* 8*d.* to Churchwardens of the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, to maintain a certain light, called the beame light, with 24 tapers.

"(5) 13*s.* 4*d.* to the sexton of same church, for ringing the bell for mass, helping the priest, and lighting the tapers.

"(6) 6*d.* yearly to the Lady Mase Priest of St. Mary Woolnoth, to secure his presence at her husband's obit.

"(7) To each Churchwarden of the aforesaid parish 6*s.*, to make them diligent in the distribution of certain charities of her husband, and in attendance at her obit.

"(8) Annuity of 40*s.* to Thomas Hethcott.

"(9) 6*s.* 4*d.* to the Churchwardens of the parish of St. Martyns (*sic* in will) Woolnoth, for two tapers of 7 lbs. and 5 lbs. weight, to burn before the Blessed Sepulchre.

"(10) 8*d.* for 15 years to come, to the Preacher at St. Paul's Cross and St. Mary Spittle, at the the Easter Sermon, to the intent that her and her husband's soul may be 'reherced and prayed for.'

"(11) 4*d.* each to the two aforesaid Chantry Priests for taking a 'bill' with

was with difficulty ejected for William Offley, to whom the mansion had been let.

Before we revert to Lady Percyvale's life as given by Gilbert, we must record one incident not noticed by him :—

In the later years of Henry VII's reign "many a riche and welthy person by the extremity of the lawes of the Realme was condempned and brought to misiry. The matter was wonderful to be heard, as pitiful and miserable to be done, and yet it is called lawe."¹ Now one of the rich persons thus plundered was Lady Percyvale,² who on the 17th November, 1507, was pardoned for some imaginary offence by a fine of 1,000*l.* paid to the King.³

Now to take up Gilbert's narrative :—Writing of Sir John, he continues :—

"By this gentleman our Thomasine had a third augmentation of jointure and wealth, together with the title of Dame or Lady, which she lived many years to enjoy after the death of Sir John Percivall, Knight. After which, Dame Thomasine, having no child by either of her three husbands, spent the remainder of her days, till about the year 1530, when she died, in works of piety and charity ; as repairing highways, building bridges,⁴ endowing or providing funds for poor maids, relieving prisoners, feeding and apparelling poor people, with her treasure and riches ; and espe-

testator's and her husband's names to the aforesaid Preachers at Poule's and the Spittle.

"(12) 5*d.* every Sunday to Churchwardens of St. Mary Woolnoth, to be distributed to five poor persons.

"(13) 2*s.* per annum to the Churchwardens for seeing to last bequest.

"In default of the said Clerk not keeping the aforesaid antempne (3 *supra*), the 20*s.* to him to go in buying a beast to be distributed in the four prisons of London, namely Newgate, Ludgate, the Merchaesie and King's Bench.

"Proviso for gift over to Parson and Churchwardens of parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, failing Merchant Taylors' Company.

"Proviso for gift over to Master and Bretheren of St. Thomas Acon, West Chepe, failing Parson and Churchwardens of St. Mary Woolnoth.

"Proviso for gift over to Mayor and Citizens of London.

"*Residue*—And all the yearly *residue* of the issues, revenues and profits of the said messuages or tenements and garden, over the charges and reparations aforesaid, I will for ever shall remain to the *Common Box* of the said fraternity, to the maintenance and supportation of their common charges."

¹ Hall's Chron., page 502.

² I assume this person to have been the wife or widow of Sir John as I can trace no other lady of the same name at that date.

³ Lansd. MS., No. 160, fol. 311, quoted in Vol. 23 Arch., page 393.

⁴ Stowe describes her as a widow and giving in 1498 20 marks to the Holborn Conduit.

cially in this parish of Wike St. Mary, where she was born, she founded a chantry and free school to pray for her soul, the souls of her father and mother, her husbands and relatives. To this chantry and school she added a small library, with a fair house for lodgings for the schoolmaster, and chanters or singing men, and others, parts of which are yet extant; and endowed the same with 20*l.* lands for ever. In which place, during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII, many gentlemen's sons, both in Cornwall and Devon, had their education in the liberal arts and sciences, under one Cholwell, a good linguist, as Mr. Carew saith."

The school established at St. Mary Wike had this endowment from her, 12*l.* 6*s.* for a priest in the said parish to pray for her soul, and to teach children in the school founded by her not far from the church; 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for a manciple or usher; and 3*s.* 4*d.* for a laundress for washing the clothes of the master and manciple. Any residue of income over these payments was to go to keep a yearly obit for her in the parish church. In the reign of Edward VI the school was transferred to Launceston, and the stipends given by Dame Percyvale transferred to the masters of that school; and Queen Elizabeth endowed the school with 16*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* in satisfaction of certain other indefinite claims upon the Crown, but the Endowed Schools Commissioners reported that the school since the transfer has not been a success.¹

But to her husband's Guild she was also a liberal benefactor, giving them by her will of 12th February, 1508, the residue of rents in the same terms that are used in her husband's will. What then were "the common charge and need" of the Fraternity are evidenced by the account books at the date of these wills, viz., an expenditure for alms, for chaplains, for great church or civic festivals, or for assessments imposed by the authority of the Mayor or Master.

Such are some of the incidents of the lives of Sir John and Dame Thomasine Percyvale; one characteristic probably of both is to be found in his will, establishing a daily early service in his Parish Church "to the intent the parishioners and others thereabouts disposed to take business and lawful occupation may have their mass betimes, and so go to business, to the pleasure of God and good continuance of the world."

¹ Vol. 14 Endowed Schools Commissioners' Report, page 420.

CHAPTER IV.

SIR STEPHEN JENYNS, MASTER 1490, LORD MAYOR
1508 (FOUNDER OF WOLVERHAMPTON SCHOOL).

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THE life which now invites our attention is that of Sir S. Jenyns, a man—as the Guild records show—of singular integrity, who had to act for his fellow citizens a conspicuous part in two national ceremonies, and who, we may feel sure, from the one incident mentioned pertaining to his knighthood, behaved with liberality in his high office.

He was the first member of the Company who, as a *Merchant Taylor*, became Lord Mayor, in succession to Percyvale. Hugh Pemberton (whose wife, Katherine, was a benefactor to the Company in 1508) was Sheriff in 1490, eight years before the election of Jenyns, but did not become Lord Mayor, nor was any one after

Jenyns's mayoralty elected from the Company until Sir Henry Hubbathorne was chosen in 1546.

The preliminary incidents of his life are few. He, like Percyvale, came from the country, for he was a native of Wolverhampton,¹ born in the first half of the 15th century, as the son of William Jenyns, there resident. In apportioning Jenyn's age at different periods of his life, we have little to guide us. His will is dated 1522, and assuming him to have died in that year at, say, 75, it would make 1447 as the year of his birth; he became Master in 1489 (say) at 42; Sheriff in 1498 at 51; and Lord Mayor in 1508 at 61.

We have no record of him in the Company until 1489-90, and the entry of his election as Master is very brief, this:—

“4 Henry VII. The vigil of the Nativity of John the Baptist.
“Stephen Jenyns, *Master*.

“*Wardens* :

“William Grene.

“Thomas Bodley.

“John Bernard.

“Peter Foster.”

It was not until after his mastership that Jenyns was married to the lady whose history is not known. His predecessor in the chair of the Taylors was a member of a well established family in the Company, the “Buks.” John Buk, by will of January, 1422, devised to the Company the “Scutle on the Hoppe,” in Graceus Street, and his son William was the Master of 1488. The one act of this mastership that has been preserved is recorded thus:—

“MEMORAND. that William Buk, beyng Master of the Felasship and Fraternytie of Saynt John Baptist of Taillours, in the yere of oure lord, 1489, And the 4th yere of the Reigne of Kyng Henry the 7th, brought in this Boke to this Ende, that is to sey, that theryn shall be wreten all such money as shall be brought yn from hensforth into the tresorye. And also theryn to be wreten all such money as from hensforth shall be delyuered and payde out of the same.”

It would seem, therefore, that William Buk must have the credit of establishing the Treasury “account,” for the treasury received or paid the balance due on the cash account as settled by the Fraternity at the close of each Mastership, and the keys were held by the Master and Wardens and other trusted members of

¹ Vol. 5, Part II, page 224, Salt's Visitation of Staffordshire.

the Guild. After money had been placed in the treasury it could only be got out by special order and the attendance of the Master, Wardens, and Clerk and such others as were key holders. Therefore an account was needed of these receipts and payments.

The Buks were residents in Aldermanbury, as Mr. Buk (possibly William's son) was returned to the city as living there in 1522, in a house "with a hall, parlour, two chambers, and four beds." At any rate William, to whom we have referred, married Margaret Kyrton (whose ancestor "Clement" we find Master of the Company in A.D. 1399-1400), and she, on becoming a widow, was married to Jenyns. The issue of this marriage was one daughter, Catherine, who married another Merchant Taylor, John Nichols, and died without issue.

We have shown in a previous chapter¹ what was the general nature of the work which the Master had to discharge at the date of Jenyns's election, and the records of the Quarterly Courts, of which some rough notes have been preserved, at that period, may be interesting as illustrations.

The first of these relates to the ill-behaviour of a Taylor at the Cloth Market. The Wool Market at the present day by a strange coincidence is held on the estate in Coleman Street, devised by Sir S. Jenyns to the Merchant Taylors, but in 1489-90 the cloth sales were carried on at a hall called after the owner, Thomas "Blakewell,"² adjacent to the Guildhall Chapel, where a weekly market for woollen cloths was established in the 20 Richard II (1390).

Robert Greve having misbehaved, he was summoned to appear at the Taylors' Hall on 3rd February, before the Court of Assistants, and this is the entry:—

"Item forasmuch as great crime & defamation remaneth upon this fraternity, by cause that some persons of this fellowship exceed in their behaviour & demeaning among men of worship & other honest persons, & namely at Blakewell Hall.² Amongst wh^h Rob^t Greve is one, and therefore this day the said Robert being called to this place & arraigned of the premises hath acknowledged himself to be bound to this place in 40*l*. that he shall from hence-

¹ Part I, Chapter II.

² It was rebuilt in 1588 and 1672, and taken down in 1820, and the site used for a Bankruptcy Court.

forth be of honest demeaning in buying & selling as well in the said place as elsewhere."

The offence was no doubt, from the large sum (40*l.*) demanded as bail for his future good behaviour, deemed to be a serious one.

The next entry shows the distinctively religious tone of mind which prevailed in the Court as the members deemed it to be irreverent for men to settle up their dues for St. John's Feast in the Cloisters, using there words sounding to dishonour; therefore at the Quarter-Day Court of 5th May, 1490, this order was made:—

"Item whereas in time past it hath been used & accustomed that the brethren of the fraternity yearly the morn after midsummer day should pay their dues for the meat and alms in the cloisters, whereby some persons going there forth have spoken and said some words sounding rather to dishonor than to worship, wherefore it is ordained that brethren of this fellowship from henceforth shall pay their duties aforesaid the morn after midsummer day in this place, and not in the said cloyster as it hath been used before."

At the same Court, Sir W. FitzWilliam, whose memoir will be the subject of the next chapter, was admitted to the Livery, and a regulation was made so as to prevent men of insufficient means from being called to it, falling shortly after on the "alms of the fraternity." It was in these terms:

"Also, whereas in time past it hath been used and accustomed in this place that at the quarterday commonly holden next before the feast of St. John the Bptist that such brethren as should be admitted into the fraternity should be admitted at the same quarterday, and where(as) also at the same day some persons have been admitted into this fraternity have (not) been in substance of goods as it hath been supposed, whereby they have lytely fallen into the Alms of this fraternity to the great charge of the same fraternity. Wherefore it is ordained that from henceforth there shall be no persons admitted into this fraternity but at such time as the whole livery shall be given in this fraternity. Except that if any person of this fraternity shall be married to any master's or warden's wife in this craft or that he be promoted by marriage of any other woman out of the fellowship or otherwise, which person so promoted by marriage or otherwise, shall then be admitted into the clothing by the decision of the Master, Wardens, and 24 men of this craft, or the more part of them."

In the next entry we have a trace of the "great Book of

Ordinances," in use prior to 1507, and the method of electing the Master. It is dated on the 4th June, 1489-90.

"Mem^d that whereas there is written in the 4th leaf of the great book of Ordinances of this Craft an ordinance concerning the warning of 6 men of the said craft to be warned against the feast day to be at the dinner in the hall the same day, under a certain pain, as by the same ordinance made more plainly appeareth. For certain considerations now moving & had the said Master & masters & others persons before written have ordained & enacted that the same old ordinance from henceforth shall not be occupied nor used, but that the master that shall be new chosen from henceforth shall be named & chosen by them that have been masters in the parlour on Mids^e even before dinner as it hath been used before time. And also it is ordained that the Wardens for the time being shall have preeminence to go next unto the masters, and before all others of the craft in processions, ridings, dinners, & all other assemblies."

The ready way in which this old ordinance was put aside and a new one enacted would appear to afford some justification to the provisions of the 19 Henry VII, cap. 7, requiring that sanction to new ordinances should be given by the Lord Chancellor and others before they were established.

The Master retired from office when his successor was installed and sworn in after the Feast of St. John. At the first court held after the late Master had left the chair he brought in his account of expenditure of the corporate funds for the examination and sanction of the Fraternity. It would seem that hitherto the custom had been to make him some allowance as well for his Feast of St. John as by way of reward for the labours of the year, and such were the Master's rights when Jenyns was elected to the chair. He might, as many members would, have pleaded long custom against any self-denying ordinance; as these and many other like payments out of the corporate funds are found:

"1453-4.— $\frac{1}{2}$ yard and $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of red velvet for the Chaplet with which the Master should be elected, and making, 9s. 2d.

"Rose garlands for the Masters and their wives, 2s. 4d.

"1459-60.—The livery of cloth is given to the Master and his wife, the Wardens, and the Clerk, and Beadle."

However, that was not the view that Jenyns took of his duty as Master, and the entry of this Court of 18th August, 1490, stands in these words:—

"In acct. Stephen Jenyns, late Master of this Fraternity, in the presence of the master (John Spencer), wardens, and Swan, Percyval, Keys, West, Barlowe, Pemberto Deplech, Le, Buck, &c., *gardianor atotius cōrtatis istius misterie.*

"Memo that where as by the old ordinance had and used in this place it hath been used that the master yearly at his accompt should have allowance of certain parcels hereafter following towards his charges at the feast of Midsm^r, that is to say of 13s. 4d. for the gadering in of the prentices money. Item of 4l. for a tonne of wine. Item for the dinner at the viewing of the livelode xxvis. 8d. Item for the garlands at the feast, 6d. Item for the clothing of the master wardens clerk and bedel, 6l. 10s. and at his Reckoning same time the master hath been rewarded sometimes 20 marks sometimes 12l. sometimes 10l. sometimes 10 marks and sometimes less and sometimes more. *Which is to the great charge and hindrance of the s^d craft.* Therefore, these premises considered it is ordained and enacted that from *henceforth* the master for the time being shall never have allowance of any parcels afs^d and to that intent Stephen Jenyns late master of the s^d craft hath given in at his accompt the sums of 12l. which was to him allowed at his accompt for a Reward 12l. (*sic*). Item 40 shillings paid to John Smyth viewer for his fee in the time of M^r Buk. Item 11 shillings which he hath paid for a quit rent due by M^r Cotton and M^r. Head. Item as much lathes as amounteth to the sum of 4l. 4s. 4d. Item 53 shillings and 4 pence spent in the lawe agenst the parson and wardens of Saint Mathews on Friday Street for the building of the steeple. Item 10 shillings for making of the cupboard in the ewery in the Garden. Whereof sum total is 21l. 19s. The which premises John Spencer now being master of the said Craft and Thomas Bromflete, Thomas Howdan, Roger Mone, and Richard Hill, Wardens for their time have granted to hold firm and stable. This foresaid Act being made and established by the authority the Master and wardens whose names are here before written and by the authority and *wills of the whole body of the said Craft in this Hall assembled.* And what person that hereafter shall attempt to break this Ordinance shall forfeit 40l. that is to say 20l. to the Almes and 20l. to the chamber of the Guild Hall and that the Masters from henceforth to be chosen at the time of the admission shall make bodily oath upon a book to observe these premises."

On the footing of this Court minute the treasury accounts show these receipts:—

- “ Itm, the said Mr. Stephen Jenyns hath brought in in to the Thresory, as appereth by the Fote of his Accompt, the some of 37*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* q^v
- “ Itm, the said Accomptaunt hath geven in to the said Thresory the sum of 40*s.*, which he hath paide to the vewer for his fee due in the tyme of Mr. Buk 40*s.*
- “ Itm, he renounced allowaunce of 5*s.* 6*d.* of quite Rente due by Mr. Cotton which the said Mr. Jenyns paide, and in lyke wise 5*s.* 6*d.* due by Mr. Hede, sum 11*s.*
- “ Itm, he hath geven yn as moche lathes as cost 4*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* towards the byeldyng of the Saresyns hede . . . 4*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*
- “ Itm, he hath geven yn the sōme of 12*l.* which was geven to hym by the body of the Crafte for his Rewarde for his labour had by the yere past . . . 12*l.*
- “ Itm, he hath geven in the sōme of 53*s.* 4*d.* which he hath spent in the the lawe ayenst the Wardens of Saynt Mathewes in Fryday strete 53*s.* 4*d.*
- “ Itm, he hath geven yn 10*s.* which he hath payde for the makyng of the Cupbourde in the Gardyne 10*s.*”

What Jenyns objected to was taking allowances on alleged custom and without due order from the Guild. How could a Master honestly govern with absolute impartiality *all* the members, if during his year of office he had to conciliate favour of *some* to procure a personal advantage at the close of it? When money is taken out of a common box of which the Master is the custodian, surely his authority for taking it should be beyond all possible impeachment from any, either the most or least influential member, having rights to be respected?

But it would seem from a later entry of the 3rd March, 7th Henry VII (1491), during the mastership of William Harte, that Jenyns's reform went somewhat further than this earlier record shews, as the Court then gave compensation to the Clerk and Beadle for loss of clothing under Jenyns's order, and the grant is thus prefaced:—"For their subsidy and relief, which they (the Clerk and Beadle) were wont to have afore yearly, unto the time that Master Jenyns of his mind at yielding up his accompt, abridged unto himself his reward, and his wife's, and the courtesy that the Craft did yearly allow unto his predecessors and their wives, and also to the Wardens being in officē for their great labours, business, and attendance, that they have, in the same time of office, did annul the said act, custom, and courtesy, shewed

and allowed to the Master and his wife and the four Wardens being in office, &c."

Possibly the entries of payments made out of the Treasury (the only account Book of the period) may be deemed to be of sufficient interest to present to the reader.

The first illustrates the care and exactness of their dealings with money. It would appear that William Buk had surrendered 5*l.* into the Treasury, which Hugh Pemberton, the Master in 1481, had delivered to him "for to pay Danyelles¹ wif, for an arreyes for the making of London walles." At last the claim was settled by a decree from the Lord Chancellor (Dr. John Morton) and the craft was discharged of her claim, "The Parcelles of money taken out brought yn the tyme of Stephen Jenyns, Master," :—

"Itm, delyuered to the said Master Jenyns the 5*l.* which was brought in by Mr. Buk for to pay Danyell Wif, as appereth on the leve before delyuered, to thentent to pay her yf she will reseve it, 5*l.*

"Which 5*l.* was paid to Mr. Shirbourn, w^t my lorde of Caunterbury Chanceler and he hath discharged the Craft of her Clayme."

Then follow two payments relating to the cost of rebuilding the "Saracen's Head in Friday Street," an estate purchased in 1400, (and still held by the Company), adjacent to the church of St. Matthew, until the latter was recently removed. This rebuilding² was by general assessment of the members of the Guild, who, if they could not give money gave plate, as is shown by this entry in the Inventory of 1512: "Item a litell image of St. John Baptist in gold enamelled, which Richard Haydiff, late a brother of the Fraternity delivered for 20*s.*, assessed upon him for the buildings in Friday Street."

"M^d. taken owte of the Thresory hous oute of the Chist, the 14 day of May A^o 5^{to} H. 7, towardses the payment of 200*l.* to be payde to Symond Byrlyngham and Thomas Benkes Carpenters for the makynge of the Saresyns hede, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

"Itm, payde to hym the same day of the 40*l.*, which Richard Dyngley shall pay towardses the said byldynge, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*"

¹ The name of Danyel is traced a member of the Company in 1537 and in 1603.

² The house was one of the old London hostells, and now it is a large house held of the Merchant Taylors Company by a well known Manchester warehouseman. See Part I, Appendix 33, page 407.

But few Masters left the chair at this period without enriching the Company with some gift, and those made by Stephen Jenyns and his wife are entered in the Inventory of 1512: At that date the Chapel of Calixtus¹ had been established, and the gift² of his wife Dame Margaret, was of a cloth with the emblems of St. John, for the use or ornament of the Chapel on the annual feast or on other festivals.

The next trace that we have of the life of Jenyns is during his shrievalty, which office he had the pleasure of serving when his old colleague in the Taylors' Court, Sir John Percyvale, was Mayor in 1498. The election entitled him to the usual grant of money and loan of plate, which are thus recorded:—

First as to money: which was voted to him on the 22nd September, in "the parlour belonging to this Hall" standing on the site of the present court room. The entry is:—

"Be it had in mynde that the 26 daye of Septembre, 1498, There was taken oute of the Tresoury accordyng vnto thaggreement of the counceill of the crafte to gyders assembled in the parlour bilongyng to this hall and next adioynyng, the 22 daye of Septembre afforsaid, by wey of gyfte, w^t the goodwill and consent that the Feliship bere and owe to the right worshipfull Mr. Stephens Jenyns, now of late electe Shrefe of london, towards his charges that the same Shrefe is admytted vnto this yere, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

"There beyng present in the said parlour the same 22 daye, the Mr, Fitz Willm and Hugh Acton, Wardeyns, Sir John Percyvall, Knyght, Hugh Pemberton, Aldremen, Robert Dupleage, John Lee, W. Povey, J. Wilford, Ewen boughton, N. Nynes, J. Fittes, W. Grene, T. Howden, J. Kyrkeby, J. Povey, R. Smyth and R. bukberd, and H. Mayour, Clerk of the same Feliship."

Then as to plate:—He had to give an undertaking to return this into the Treasury when his year of office was ended, and the return is usually recorded on the books, for the Sheriff like the Lord Mayor had to make a separate contribution to the great feast of St. Simon and St. Jude.

These are the two entries:—

"Be it in mynde that the vi daye of the month of Octobre A^o xiv Hy. VII there was taken oute of the Tresury for the right worshipfull Stephen Jenyns now Shrefe of London by way of preste 12 gilt spones each of them pounced with a swan on

¹ Part I, page 117.

² Part I, page 89.

the baksyde whereof 6 be with wrethren knoppes and 6 with strawberries the same Shrefe to have the same 12 spones duryng the tyme of his Shrefwyk. There beyng present the Maistre M^r Nynes, W^m Fitzwilliam and Hugh Acton, Wardeyns and Henry Mayour, Clerk.

“Be it had in mynde that the 17th daye of Decembre Anno. xiv Hy VII there was taken out of the Tresoury for the forsaid M^r Jenyns with the consent of the counseill of the crafte by waye of preste vi playne bolles with one cover which M^r Rose Swan gave to the crafte. There being present the Maister of the crafte William Fitzwilliam, Thomas Pole, and Hugh Acton, Wardeyns, and H. Mayour.”

Having passed through the office of Sheriff and been elected an Alderman, Jenyns was eligible for the higher office of Mayor which he filled in 1508–9, having another colleague of the Court, Richard Smith (Master in 1503, and a worthy benefactor to the Company of tenements in Fenchurch Street which were sold in 1549) as Sheriff. In this eventful year the crown passed from the 7th to the 8th Henry, and Jenyns was a spectator, or rather actor in all the ceremonials incident to the change. Although the Taylors have no record concerning this period so as to show the allowances made to him, yet it may be reasonably presumed that he had the same as those made to Percyvale.

The latter years of Henry's life were evil ones for the city. He was avaricious and amassed money by the exactions of Empson and Dudley, but in January, 1503, he undertook one work which, though not finished at his death, has since become his monument; the new chapel to the monastery of Westminster.

The first body placed at rest in this chapel was that of his wife Elizabeth who was buried there on the 26th February, 1503, and Henry in his last will of 31st March, 1509, thus wrote:—“Forasmuch as that the body of the glorious King and Confessor St. Edward and divers others of our progenitors, and especially the body of our grand-dame of right noble memory Queen Katharine, wife of Henry V, and daughter of King Charles of France be interred within our monastery of Westminster, and that we propose shortly to translate thither the body and reliques of our uncle of blessed memory King Henry VI, we will in consideration thereof that whether we die within our realm or not our body be buried in the same monastery, that is to say, in the chapel

where our said grand-dame lies buried, the which chapel we have begun to build of new in the honour of our blessed Lady.”¹

The evil of his last years Henry desired to abate by the good actions of his last days, for, “when he could easily perceive,” writes the Chronicler, “that death was not far of tarrying he granted a general pardon to all men, he paid also the fees of all prisoners in the gaols in and about London, abiding there only for that duty. He paid also the debts of all such prisoners as lay in the Compters of London or Ludgate for 40s. or under.”² Then he departed out of this world, at his palace at Sheen (which he had called Richmond after his own name) on the 22nd April, 1509.

The several funeral obsequies began on the 25th April, and ended on the 11th May. The corpse was first brought from the Privy to the Great Chamber for three days, having daily dirige and masse “sung by a prelate mitred;” thence to the hall for three days, and had the like services; so also three days in the chapel. Every day the mourners offered, and every place was hung with black cloth.

On the 9th May, the corpse was placed on a chariot and moved to St. Paul’s. Over the corpse an image or representation; of the late King in his robes, was laid on cushions of gold, with a crown on the head and a ball and sceptre in the hands; then it went forth to St. George’s Fields in Southwark, accompanied by the King’s Chaplain and a great number of prelates praying.

At London Bridge Jenyns and his brethren, the Aldermen and Commoners, met and brought the corpse to St. Paul’s, where, while the mourners went to bed at the Bishop’s house, dirige and masse were sung, and a sermon preached. On the 10th the corpse was in like order removed to Westminster, where the mourners being set, the Garter King of Arms cried for the soul of the late King, and the placebo and dirige being finished, they departed to the Palace for that night. The day of interment was the 11th, and an order was issued that the Mayor and Aldermen, with all such persons as have been afore appointed to ride in black shall go by water in barges to Westminster, there to be present at mass and offering.”

That Jenyns was present at the ceremonial has been specially noted, as showing the precedence that was to be given to the

¹ Vol. I, Test. Vet., page 26.

² As to these see Part I, page 161.

³ Hall, page 504.

Lord Mayor (out of his jurisdiction), with reference to other authorities, thus :—

“The Lord Mayor with his mace in his hand offered next, after the Lord Chamberlain, the Aldermen, Barons, and representing Barons’ estate, which have been Mayors, offered next to the Knights of the Garter, and before all the Knights of the Body. Next after those knights all the Aldermen that have not been Mayors.”¹

Three masses were sung by Bishops, a sermon was given by FitzJames, Bishop of London, the late King’s military equipment was offered, the body was deposited in the cavern or vault beneath by the side of his Queen, and the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots stood round, and struck their croziers on the coffin with the *absolimus*, then Warham (the Archbishop) cast in the earth, and the tomb was closed.

All being finished the mourners and others that had given their attendance, departed to the Palace, “where they had a great and sumptuous feast,” at which we may reasonably presume that Jenyns was also present as one of the guests.

The “funeralles of the late king being thus honorably finished,”² the coronation was appointed for Midsummer Day. “If I should declare” (writes Hall) “what pains, labour, and diligence the Taylors, Embrouderours, and Goldsmiths took . . . it were too long to rehearse, but more curious work hath not been seen.” On the 23rd June, the procession passed from the Tower to Westminster, and along the City “stood every occupation in their liveries in order, beginning with base and mean occupations, and so ascending to the worshipful crafts, highest and last standing Sir Stephen Jenyns with the Aldermen.”

A description of the coronation and the feast then follows. “The tables arroyed, the wafers were brought. Then Sir Stephen Jenyns (that time Mayor of London) whom the King, before he sat down to dinner, had dubbed a knight, he, as the official record states, “paying his fees as a Baron,” to which he gave the Earl’s table that day, arose from the place where he sat to serve the King with ipocras in a cuppe of golde, which cuppe, after his grace had dronken thereof, was, with the cover geive unto Sir Stephen, like as other his predecessors Mayors of the said citie were wont to have at the coronacion of the King. Then after the

¹ Maitl., page 288, Part I, page 30.

² Hall, page 507.

turn-a-glass laid, and that the the King's Grace and the Queen had washed every of them under their clothes of estate, the tables being arrayed went into their chambers."¹

But Jenyns when so serving was not alone; as the civic custom was for the Common Council to nominate a Committee of their own members "to attend the (Lord Mayor as) Chief Butler of England at the King's coronation," whose names are extant.²

Hugh Acton, probably the Master for the year, and of whom we shall have more to say hereafter, stands first on the list, and the eleven others represent other guilds.

The mayoralty of Jenyns having ended, we must pass on to what may be considered as the great act of his life, the establishment of the grammar school in his native town of Wolverhampton, chronicled by Holinshed³ under date of 1508.⁴ If this be correct Jenyns was the earliest founder in Henry VIII's reign. It would seem that he acquired land and built the school before obtaining any license from King Henry VIII, as those which he afterwards obtained are dated respectively the 22nd September, 1512, and 12th April, 1513, the first to empower the Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors Company to hold lands of the annual value of 20*l.* for the maintenance of the grammar school, erected and founded by him, and the other to authorise Jenyns to grant to the Masters and Wardens the manor of Rushocke, in the county of Worcester, of the yearly value of 15*l.*, to hold to them and their successors for ever "for the better sustentation of one master, and also of one usher in the said grammar school for instructing boys in good morals and literature, and other necessary things to be done there, according to the sound rules and disposition of the said Sir Stephen Jenyns, or his executors, to be settled and established."⁵

On the 15th May, 1515, a feoffment was made to the Master and Wardens of the manor to hold the same in part satisfaction of

¹ Page 510.

² Hugh Acton, Merchant Taylor; John West, Mercer; John Dawes, Grocer; Thomas Cremer, Draper; John Felde, Fishmonger; Nich. Worley, Goldsmith; Thos. Pybus, Skinner; John Imber, Merch. Haberdasher; Richd. Grey, Ironmonger; James Spencer, Vintner; Nich. Warren, Salter; Willm. Bewloy, Shereman. A list is given on the previous pages of the Repertory, containing two names for each of the first four Companies, John Skevyngton being the other Merchant Taylor.—"Jenyns," Repertory, II, fol. 71.

³ Vol. 3, page 539.

⁴ Cat. State Papers (1510), Mayors, page 1029.

⁵ C.t. State Papers on date..

the 20*l.* per annum "to the use and intent of Sir Stephen Jenyns, as by his settlement or last will made and declared thereof more manifestly should appear."

Jenyns made no declaration of his intentions by will nor any other settlement, unless the lease by the Master and Wardens which was granted to him and his wife, and Nicholls and the survivor of them, without reserving any rent to the lessors was such. While this lease was in force the lessee paid 12*l.* per annum to the school, and when another lease for 99 years was granted in reversion with the assent of the lessors, reserving a rent of 18*l.*, the same payment of 12*l.* was continued.¹ The rent, though nominally so small, was for an area of 835 acres of land.

The Merchant Taylors Company's account books in 1545-6 (Brooks, Master) contain these entries:—

- "Item of W^m Newport, farmer, of the M^r of Rushock, given by Sir S. Jenyns, dec^d, for the maintenance of the Grammar School at Wolverhampton for one year's rent 6*l.*
- "Then in 1569-70 the Master (Robt. Hulson) chargeth himself to have received of Frances Brase, gentelman farmer, of the Manor of Russhocke, in the county of Worcester in the right of his wife for one hole year's rent for the same due and ending at the feast of the Annunciation of our lady, Anno, 1570 18*l.*
- "And claims to have paid to Mr. Raby, schoolmaster of the Grammar School in Wolverhampton, founded by Sir S. Jenyns, Knt., late Mayor of the City of London, & M^r Taylor of the same city by the hand of Sir T. Offley, Knt. & Ald., for his hole year's salary 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
- "To the usher of the same school 4*l.*"

Payments which nearly exhausted the rent.

But in the next century the rents had risen to 250*l.* per annum, and the Company, after paying first 18*l.*, then 24*l.*, and in 1624 50*l.* to the Schoolmasters claimed the residue for their corporate estate. This was disputed, and the Court of Chancery was appealed to, when Lord Coventry, on the 24th May, decreed that the Rushocke Estate should be held as settled to the use of the school until the

¹ These statements are made on the authority of the Charity Commissioners Report, Vol. IV, page 319 (1822).

Company should produce the will or other writing of Sir S. Jenyns more fully expressing the use thereof. No such will or writing was ever produced, and the residue, or rather the whole rents were held in trust for the school.

But the government of the school and its revenues still continued to be controlled by the Master and Wardens until the year 1766, when upon another controversy arising with the town, the Master and Wardens were, at their own request, discharged from its future management, by a decree dated 23rd July, 1783, and the connection of the Company with the school (for a time at least) ceased.

The rents at that date when the manor was transferred to new trustees for the school, amounted to 461*l.* 14*s.*, when the Charity Commissioners reported in 1820,¹ to 1,168*l.* 3*s.*, and when the Endowed Schools Commissioners reported in 1867 to 1,212*l.*, the acreage² of the estate remaining nearly the same.

The school is now flourishing under a new scheme, made with the sanction of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, but when an appeal was made from the school managers to the Merchant Taylors Company to manifest some interest in Sir S. Jenyns' foundation, this resolution was passed on the 28th February, 1876: "That a sum not exceeding 120*l.* be granted annually during the pleasure of the Court from the corporate fund for the establishment of one or more Exhibitions to boys from the Wolverhampton Grammar School to Oxford and Cambridge, the terms of which Exhibitions shall be arranged with the Governors of the School": for it would be an evil day when the citizens failed to respect the memory of such a Guildsman.

While the school remained under the management of the Merchant Taylors Company others of its members interested themselves in the charity. Thus Henry Offley (the son of Sir Thomas) added land of his own to the back walks of the school house; Randal Wolley, a Merchant Taylor (native of Wolverhampton), gave 100*l.* for the increase of the salary to the Head Master. The Company in 1610 erected a gallery to the west end of the church for the use of the scholars, and in the year 1713 the school and masters' houses were rebuilt.³

¹ Vol. IV, page 349.

² Vol. XV, page 485.

³ In the Court Books there are many long entries relating to the Manor of Rushocke (Hulson reported on it after a survey), and to the school, with the names of the masters and scholars in 1608—abundant material for the use of the future historian of the school, should he be found.

During the later years of his life Sir Stephen Jenyns became a substantial contributor to the rebuilding of the church of St. Andrew Underclift, though the connection of Jenyns with this parish is not apparent, for none of his real estate devised to the Merchant Taylors Company was there situate and his place of residence was probably in the parish of Christ Church. However, members of his wife's family were residents and buried in St. Andrews, as John Nicholls, his wife's son, in 1537, and Alderman Stephen Kyrton¹ (probably her nephew) in 1553.

The original structure dating at a period anterior to 1360 was pulled down and the present church was commenced in 1520. "Every man (writes Stow) putting to his helping hand, some with their purses, others with their bodies. Stephen Jenyns caused at his charges to be built the whole north side of the great middle isle both of the body and choir as appeareth by his arms over every pillar graven, and also the north isle which he roofed with timber and seated, also the whole south side of the church was glazed, and the pews on the south side made at his cost, as appeareth in every window and upon the said pews."

Jenyns by his will in favour of John Bennett, dated "the laste day of June in the year of our Lord God 1522," gave (by Bennett's later will of 24th January, 1527),² what is now a noble estate to the Merchant Taylors Company for their own use.

The transaction is an instance (not unfrequent) of what may

¹ He lived adjacent to the site of the present East India Chambers.

² The epitome of this will is here given :—

"JOHN BENNETT, for SIR STEPHEN JENNINGS,

"*Date.*—1527, January 24th (19 Henry VIII).

"*Parcels.*—(1) Messuage or tenement late of Sir Stephen Jennings, in the parish of Allhallows-the-More, in Thames Street, abutting on to Allhallows Church on the west.

"(2) Three messuages or tenements with gardens, courts, cellars, sollers in the parish of St. Stephen, in Coleman Street.

"(3) One garden in the parish of St. Michael's Bassishaw.

"*Donees.*—Master and Keeper or Wardens of the Fraternity or Guild of St. John Baptist of Merchant Taylors, of the City of London.

"*Habendum.*—To aforesaid donees.

"*Conditions.*—(1) To repair the premises aforesaid.

"*Superstitious Uses.*—" (2) To find a priest to say mass for Sir Stephen Jenins.

"(3) 53s. 4d. for priest's salary, with forfeiture on default and gift over to the poor of Aldermanbury.

be termed a derivative will, *i.e.*, made by one guildsmen after another had devised the same lands to him in order for him to will the same to the Guild. A citizen had a right (which another subject had not) of devising lands in mortmain, but the future title of the Guild to lands so acquired would rest wholly on the fact, which for safety should be notorious, that the testator was a citizen entitled to that right. Possibly Jenyns might be advised to give a title through Benet, who probably was a citizen by birth or patrimony, and not as Jenyns by servitude.

According to Stow, Jenyns was buried in the church of the Grey Friars in 1523, a fact confirmed by his will, as his obit was to be held there, and to be attended by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Swordbearer of London, by the Master, Wardens, Clerk, and Beadle of the Merchant Taylors Company. A fee was given to each for his attendance, and the Prior of Elsingspittle had 6s. 8d. "to see to its proper performance."

Of course these superstitious uses were returned to the Crown under the 37 Henry VIII, c. 4, relating to chauntries and obits, and the King's claim being satisfied, the estate is owned by the Merchant Taylors Company.¹

Such as we have endeavoured to show was Sir Stephen Jenyns; an honest citizen and a reverend layman; one who provided for the worship of God in London, and for the education of those born in the town of his nativity.

" (4) To keep an obit, paying therefor to the Gray Friars 13s. 4d.

" (5) 20d. to the Gray Friars for the De profundis to be said daily at Sir Stephen Jennings's tomb.

" (6) 3s. 4d. for tapers; 16d. for four men to hold them.

" 2s. for a taper; all to be paid to the Gray Friars, with forfeiture on default.

" (7) For coming to the obit and offering their devotions: 6s. 8d. to the Mayor; 3s. 4d. to each Sheriff; 2s. to the Swordbearer; 3s. 4d. to Master of the Merchant Taylors Company; 1s. 8d. to each Warden; 8d. to the Clerk; 8d. to the Beadle.

" *Residue*.—Shall be applied and converted to the use and behoof of the said Master and Wardens and Commonalty of the Fraternity of Merchant Taylors afore-said and their successors'

" *Further gift*.—6s. 8d. to Prior of Elsingspittle, to see to the proper performance of the obit.

" *Proviso*.—For gift over upon like trusts (of the whole bequest) to Prior of Elsingspittle in case of default by the Merchant Taylors Company in any of the foregoing articles."

¹ Part I. page 143.

CHAPTER V.

SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM (MASTER 1499, SHERIFF 1506).

Charter of 1502 procured by Fitz William, p. 39.—Change of name, p. 39.—Family of Fitz William, p. 40.—Residence, p. 40.—Called to the Livery and Wardenship, p. 40.—Master, p. 40.—Entries relating to him, p. 41.—Negotiation for new Charter and payments for it, p. 42.—Contract for obit, p. 43.—Corporation to show cause against Charter, p. 44.—Fitz William unpopular, p. 44.—Henry VII's arbitrary conduct, p. 44.—Present at election of Master and Wardens in 1506, p. 44.—Nominates Fitz William Sheriff and Alderman, p. 45.—Citizens elect Fitz William Sheriff, p. 45.—Refuses to serve, p. 46.—Disfranchised, p. 46.—Appeals to Star Chamber, p. 46.—Order, p. 47.—Negotiations with the Corporation, p. 49.—Enters into new course of life, p. 50.—Sheriff of Essex and Northampton, p. 50.—Wolsey's visit to Milton Place, p. 50.—Henry VIII questions Fitz William, p. 51.—Contract of 1533 with the Guild, p. 51.—His will, p. 52.—Death, p. 53.—His successor and the Guild, p. 53.

WE have already explained at some length¹ the changes that were made in the constitution of the Guild by the charter of Henry VII, and we come now to the life of that guildsman by whose influence, according to history, these changes were made. The Guild, at the date of this "new foundation," contained men who were prosperous in their worldly pursuits, and might, on that account, have been anxious to change the Guild name of Linen Armourer for that of Merchant. "Your most serene Majesty" has "favourably brought to light, raised up and made known, and changed the name of our Brotherhood which has long lain hid in concealment and shade," are the words in which the guildsmen acknowledge to Henry VII, their gratitude for his charter²—words which give some colour to the suggestion that the name of Merchant was the advantage which they most appreciated. However this may be, we know far less of this member of the Company than we should desire to know, having regard to the fact that it was mainly through his influence with Henry VII, that these changes were made in the powers and privileges of the Company.

¹ Part I, pages 36-9, *ante*.

² *Ib.*, Appendix 5, page 347.

The Taylor, William FitzWilliam,¹ whose life we are about to enter upon, claimed in descent from his namesake, who was the natural son of the Conqueror and Marshal of his army on his invasion of England. His own parents were John of Greens Norton, and Ellen the daughter of William Villiers of Brokesby in Leicestershire, and this John (the father) was descended from Sir Thomas of Henry III's time, who again was the fifth in descent from the original progenitor. Hence the Royal blood of a great sovereign was traceable in his veins, though after the lapse of three centuries.

It is certain that he was a contemporary for many years with Percyvale and Jenyns, and, in dealing with their lives, we have already met with his name as the Master; but we have no records extant to show at what date or by what means he became originally connected with the Company.

In the earlier years of his life living in Bread Street, FitzWilliam employed himself in trade, amassing wealth and taking an active part in civic affairs. In later years he resided in St. Thomas Apostle, having also a country seat at Gaynes Park, near Chigwell, Essex. He was married three times, and by his first two wives (Ann, the daughter of Sir John Hawes—Sheriff in 1503—and Mildred, the daughter of Sir R. Sackville) he had several sons.

During the Mastership of Sir Stephen Jenyns, he was admitted to the Livery at a Quarterly Court in 1490, and was Warden for the first time in 1494, having James Wilford (who was Sheriff in 1499) as Master, and Thomas Howden, ultimately a benefactor to the Company as a co-Warden. In the previous years Alderman Fabian, the Chronicler, had retired from the office of Sheriff and in the succeeding year Sir Henry Colet became Mayor for the second time. FitzWilliam again held office as Warden in 1498, having "Hugh Acton," a benefactor to the Company and the freeman to whom Sir Thomas White was apprenticed, as his co-Warden.

In the following year, 1499, he became Master, having for two of his Wardens men who did well by the Company, viz., Richard Smith, who was the Sheriff in Jenyns' mayoralty, and a benefactor in 1515, and Thomas Speight,² a benefactor in 1527, giving the Company Crane Wharf, in the Vintry, on part of which estate

¹ Bib Top. Brit., Vol. 10, Gibson's *Caster*, 187.

² He lived in Watling Street, and his house was on the Lodging List of 1522, as having a hall, parlour, three chambers, and three beds.—Page 99, *post*.

Southwark Bridge now stands. During a short period of his mastership FitzWilliam was brought into official contact with Sir John Percyvale, as Lord Mayor, so that as Master he was surrounded by men all favourable to the best traditions of the Company.

Of his mastership we have little or no record. He is mentioned as being present as Master at the settlement of the account of his predecessor in office (Thomas Bromeflete) and receiving from and acquitting him of his balance of 64*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* then paid into the Treasury. Thus:—

“Receiptes in the tyme of the Right Worshipfull Thomas Bromefelde, late M^r of the Fraternitee of St^t John Baptist, founded in the crafte of Tailloures.

“Be it in mynde that the said Thomas Bromefelde, late Maister of the crafte of Taillours, the 21 daye of August, In the 14th yere of the Reigne of King Henry the 7th, In which daye and yere was the yildyng vp of thaccomptes of the same Thomas, and deliuered them in Redy money, all thinges rekened and allowed vnto the right worshipfull Willm Fitz-Willm, than Maister of the Fraternitee abouesaid, In the presence of Mr. Hugh Pemberton, Aldreman, Willm. Buk, Nichas Nynes, Mr. Dupleage, Thomas Randyll, Ewen boughton, late Mr. Richard Smyth, Edmond Floure, Ric. Toll, and Th. Speight, then Wardeyns, and Hugh Acton, in full contentacion, and payment of almaner dettes and duties that the said crafte of Taillours cowde aske or demaund of the said Thomas by Reason of his Accompte, 64*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*

“And so quiet.”

He was also present at the opening of the Treasury to take out money and plate for James Wylford, as Sheriff, and for taking out plate for re-making old patterns into new ones.

“Be it had in mynde that 29 daye of the moneth of Septebre, A^o, 15 H. 7, there was taken oute of the Tresoury, than beyng Maister of the Feliship of Taillours, Willm Fitz-Willm, accordyng vnto thaggreement of the counceill of the crafte to gyders assembled the 27 daye of the same moneth, of their benyuolence loue and fauour that they bere towards the right worshipfull Mr. James Wylford, now Shrefe of London, towards his charges of Shrefewyk, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

“There beyng present Willm Buk, Nichas Nynes, late Mr. Edmond Floure and Thomas Speight, than Wardeyns, John Kyrkeby, late Warden, and H. Mayour.

“Be it had in mynde that the first daye of the moneth of

Octobre, A^o 15, R. Rx. H. 7, there was taken oute of the Tresoury accordyng vnto thaggrement of the counceill of the crafte to gyders assembled the last daye of Septembre the same yere for the new makyng of 3 basyns w^t sonnes and lambes in the botoms, and 5 new ewres after the same makyng with 5 lambes, one the lyddes, 20*l*.

"There beyng present Willm Fitz Willm, than Maister of the crafte, Willm Buk, Nichas Nynes, late Mr. Richard Smyth, Edmond Floure, Richard Toll, and Thomas Speight, than Warden, John Kyrkeby and H. Mayour."

At the close of his own mastership he settled his account thus :—

<p>"Receiptes in the tyme of the right worshipfull Willm Fitz-Willm, late Maister of the Fraternitee of Seint John baptist, founded in the crafte of Taillours.</p>	}	<p>A^o g^{re} 1500.</p>
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"Be it had in mynde that the said Willm Fitz-Willm, the 4th daye of August, in the 15th yere of the Reigne of Kyng Henry the 7th, In which daye and yere was the yeldyng vp of the accomptes of the same Willm, Which deliuered than in redy money all things rekened and allowed vnto the Right Worshipfull John Doget, than Maister of the Fraternitee abouesaid, In the presence of the Right honorable Sir John Percyvale, Knyght, Mr. Hugh Pemberton, Aldremen, Walker Povey, late Mr. John Bodyam, Richard Couhill, Thomas Gardyner, and George Sall, than Wardeyns, Richard Smyth, Edmond Flour, and Thomas Speight, late Wardeyns, in full contentacion and payment of almaner dettes and duties that the said crafte of Taillours cowde aske or demaund of the said Willm by reason of his accompte, 114*l*. 3*s*. 10*d*.

"114*l*. 3*s*. 10*d*.

"And so quiete."

Here the entries of his mastership cease.

We have no trace of any negotiations for a new charter during FitzWilliam's mastership, although it is not improbable that during his term of office, negotiations were opened with the King for obtaining it. Arnold says that the Merchant Taylors persuaded "the King to be called Merchant Taylor, wherefore a great grudge arose amongst divers crafts against them." Cavendish points to FitzWilliam as the successful promoter, and thus narrates

the incident: "Here fell a great debate and grudge between the Bench of Aldermen and the said Sir Will, for that he would have a new Corporation of Merchant Taylors contrary to the order of the city, the which caused him to surrender up his cloake and gave over his freedom of the city."

The first entry we have bearing on the subject is in the Treasury accounts (which are the only records of that date extant) during the mastership of a successor to FitzWilliam in December, 1502.

"Tempore Riči Smyth, Mr Artis Scissoz A° 18° H. 7, p̄d̄co.

"Be it had in mynd that the 6th daye of Decembre, A° 18° Rx. H 7th, Accordyng vnto thaggrement and consent of the more parte of thonorable counsell of the crafte, In the presence of Richard Smyth, Mr of the crafte, Hugh Acton, Willm Batyson, John Skevyngton, and James Montcastre, Wardens of the same crafte, there was taken out of the Tresoure hous towards the expenses, costes, and charges that shuld be borne in and aboute the purchacyng of the new graunte that the Kynges grace hath gyffen vnto this company, which was tolde and noumbred oute of the sūme of 114*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* abouesaid 87*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*"

This grant was, as it would seem, for preliminary expenses, for on the 4th March, a further sum was taken out of the Treasury as a final payment "for the purchasing the New Corporation of the King's grant lately given to this Company."

"Be it had in mynde that the 4th daye of Marche, A° 18°, H. 7, Accordyng vnto thaggrement and consent of the more part of the honorable counceill of the crafte, In the presence of the Right Worshipfull Richard Smyth, Maister of the crafte, Hugh Acton, Willm Batyson, John Skevyngton, and James Moncastre, Wardeyns of the same crafte, there was taken oute of the Tresoure hous towards the expenses, costes and charges that shalbe borne in and aboute the purchacyng of the new corporacion of the Kynges graunte, of late gyffen and graunted vnto this company, 74*l.*"

"The new grant" or Charter of "the New Corporation," as the records describe it, is dated the 6th January, 1502, but we have no entries to show, as we have in relation to Henry VI's charter, what were the negotiations or through whom they were conducted to obtain the charter; therefore it is reasonable to conclude that FitzWilliam was the negotiator.

In the following year, December, 1503, the contract for a perpetual obit was dated, and an ordinance was framed to give effect to the contract by obliging the members of the Fraternity when

duly summoned to come to the observance of the obit under a penalty of 3s. 4d. for default.¹

The feeling of the Corporation was very strong against the grant, and in Michaelmas Term, 22nd and 23rd November, 19 Henry VII (1503) a day was given for them to appear and show cause (if any they had) why the Taylors should not enjoy the effect of their letters patent of corporation to them by the King lately granted, and chiefly to declare and show cause reasonable (if any they have) why the King's Majesty should not by the authority of his prerogative have power by law to grant unto the men of the art or misterie of Taylors the name of Merchant Taylors."²

The objection of other Guilds was probably not so much to the name as to the power of admitting any persons as members. The city was a close trading community, available only to members of some Guild, duly admitted, and from whom, by assessments and fines, the Guild derived an annual revenue. Therefore the ready admission of persons who, "by the order of the city" ought to have gone, not to the Merchant Taylors', but to some other Guild, brought with it an increased importance to the Taylors, and to the city a larger number of freemen, prejudicing thereby (as it was then thought) those freemen who had become such after a long term of apprenticeship.

Whatever the cause, it is certain that FitzWilliam was at this time unpopular with his fellow citizens, for, when he sought election to the office of Sheriff, in the year 1505, Wriothesley records that the proposal "caused great strife at Guildhall," and that Roger Grove (a Grocer) gained the election.

His favour with the King might cause him to be distrusted by his fellows, for the concluding years of Henry's reign were distinguished by several arbitrary acts towards the Citizens. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of 1505 (Grove being one of the latter) were charged with malversation in their office and thrown³ into the Marshalsea without form of process and obliged to purchase their discharge by the payment of 1,400*l*.

FitzWilliam's appointment by the King to be one of the Sheriffs in the following year connects him again with the Company. According to Strype, Henry VII took a personal interest in the affairs of the Merchant Taylors Company, and attended the elec-

¹ See Part I, Appendices 5 and 6, pages 347 and 350.

² 1 Wilson, page xvii, citing Harrison MS.

³ 1 Hugh., page 111, note; 1 Enlick, page 449.

tion of Master and Wardens in person in the year 1506, and sat openly in the Common Hall among the Company, in a gown of crimson, with a citizen's hood upon his shoulders. If the incident were really such, it was probably attributable to the influence of FitzWilliam; for another writer states that in 1506, he was "nominated and appointed Sheriff of London by and at the request of the King, when attending a feast of the Company in their Common Hall."

The Grey Friars' Chronicler attributes FitzWilliam's appointment as Sheriff to the King's arbitrary order, which brought on the death of the Sheriff who was at the same time superseded by the King:—

"xxij^o. A. This yere was chosyn [sheriff] by the citte one Jonson, a goldesmythe, and he made hys fest; but within iij dayes he was dyschargyd at the commandmant of the kynge, and William FitzWilliam chosyn, and so kepte owte alle the hole yere, and the other toke soche a thowthe that he dyde."

The election of FitzWilliam as Alderman of Bread Street Ward is said to have taken place in the same year, by the same influence, but upon the King's death the controversy between FitzWilliam and his fellow citizens soon came to a climax, for after having accepted the appointment of Sheriff from Henry VII, and not by election from his fellow citizens, there was reason for FitzWilliam's unpopularity. The King's act was a violation of the chartered rights of the city, and for one of her sons to acquiesce in this usurpation of authority was an act of treason against his fellow citizens.

At the first election for Sheriff in Henry VIII's reign Sir S. Jenyns would, with his colleague, Richard Smith, as one of the Sheriffs, be the presiding officer; but Arnold states that John Bradbury was the Mayor, and if so the incident which we are now about to relate happened at the second election for Sheriffs (in 1510). However, FitzWilliam was chosen Sheriff by the common voice of the city in the Guildhall, "for that he before was Sheriff *not chosen by the voice of the city*," "whereupon," continues Arnold (from whom this narrative is taken), "he would not obey nor appear so that the Mayor also was greatly moved against John Milborne, the other Sheriff, and sent him to ward for a day and a night, and also sent the Wardens of the Merchant Taylors to Newgate, there lying two days and two nights."

Imprisonment in those days, as we must have already noticed in these pages, was very frequently inflicted, but here, unless the persons committed to prison had taken the part of FitzWilliam

during his absence and justified what the Corporation deemed to be his contumacy, one fails to see any reason for such a punishment.

FitzWilliam was summoned in ordinary course to the common hall, and might have been designedly absent, but the test of continued contumacy was whether FitzWilliam would appear to be sworn in at Westminster; and here again he made default. "On Michaelmas Even when the Sheriffs should take their oaths, and the said FitzWilliam would not appear the Mayor then assembled the Commons of the city in the Guildhall. Upon calling the said FitzWilliam three times by proclamation which, for lack of appearance, was dismissed of his cloke and of his freedom of the city, and condemned in *m* marks to the Chamber of London, and then John Rest was chosen Sheriff."¹

The matter was not suffered to remain as an open question, and the Star Chamber was appealed to by the Corporation. Three suits appear to have been instituted; two by Capel (the Lord Mayor in succession to Bradbury, who was Mayor in the year of FitzWilliam's default); one against the Merchant Taylors Company and another against FitzWilliam; and a third by the Corporation against FitzWilliam.

The results are shown in the orders, which are in substance as under. First came a stay of proceedings in the three suits.

"Memorandum, 2nd June, 3 Henry VIII (1511). Order of Star Chamber, that the cases of William Capel *v.* Merchant Taylors Company; William Capel *v.* William FitzWilliam, and Corporation of London *v.* William FitzWilliam, be stayed till first day of next term, when he will show cause why he ought not to be punished for diverse contempt, under a penalty of 1,000*l.*"

The legal merits so far as such could be said to have any existence at that time and before such a tribunal, were, as we have already suggested, with the Corporation. The Crown, by the second charter of John (17 June, 1199) had granted to the citizens the right freely to elect and remove their Sheriffs—a grant of the highest constitutional importance in arbitrary times.

When, therefore, Henry VII by his own act not only removed the Sheriff elected by the citizens from, but appointed FitzWilliam to this office—the latter was an intruder, and without legal authority to discharge the duties of a legally appointed Sheriff of London. His service might be to the King but it certainly was

¹ Arnold, page xiv.

not such to his fellow citizens. Therefore, they were acting within their charter by electing FitzWilliam if they pleased to do so—to be their Sheriff—nor could he plead to such an election prior service—which “is an exemption for ever,” when given to the citizens. However, this is not the case which the Star Chamber set out in their decree, which is prefaced thus:—

“Be it remembered that on the 10th day of July of the third year of the reign of King Henry VIII, in his Star Chamber at Westminster, the Lords of the King’s Council being there assembled, viz.: The most reverend father, William (Warham), Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor, and the right reverend fathers and Bishops of London (FitzJames), Rochester (John Fisher), Chichester (Robert Sherborn), and the Lord of the Marches² of the county of Salop, the Prior of St. John’s (Thomas Docwra) and the rest of the Lords of the Council, (who) being then met together, there Henry Kebyll, Mayor of London, also being present, and the other Aldermen and Sheriffs of the same city, the said Lords of the Council, considering that the citizens of the said city in the year before chose a certain William FitzWilliam to the office of Sheriff of the said city, who, within the three last past years, had been Sheriff of the same city, a thing which had been unheard of in the last 300 years, which William FitzWilliam indeed being thus elected did not take up the burden of this same office of Sheriff, on account of which refusal the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of the said city expelled and cast out the said William FitzWilliam from the Corporation of the said city, and the liberty which he used to enjoy within the said city, and also imposed a certain fine or mulct of 1,000 marks upon the same William to the great damage of the same William, and to the annoyance and disturbance as much of the Lords of the Council as of the city itself, and the citizens of the same city.”

Then follows some advice to the Corporation:—

“The Lords of the Council counselled the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of the same city then present that for the future in such elections they should act so prudently and circumspectly, that for the future like occasions of injustice should not happen, commanding that for the year now ensuing they should not choose or allow to be chosen to the office of Sheriff, anyone who had been before Sheriff, and counselling them that for the future they should not

Page 37, 2 Report, Municipal Corporations (1837).

² The Bishop of Hereford was the Lord Marcher of Salop. (vol. XI, page 245, Eyt. Staff) and the Bishop at this date was Richard Mayo or Mayew.

act so, because those thus twice elected not only were impoverished by the unbearable expenses of that office, but were utterly ruined, and the Royal Majesty could not permit its subjects to be thus ruined with honour to itself;" with a warning that the Lords of the Council would not enforce a second years' service on the same citizen, thus :—

"But if again they should elect one of the citizens and he for just and reasonable cause approved by the Lords of the Council should not consent to the election, the Lords of the Council decreed that all such penalties, impositions, and fines thus imposed shall be of no force or effect.

"Commanding the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs that if they have imposed any such impositions, penalties, and fines, in a case as aforesaid, or if they shall in future impose such, they shall levy the same penalties, fines, or impositions, or cause them to be levied, in no case without the express consent of the said Lords of the Council."

FitzWilliam's case is then dealt with, and the Corporation are counselled to release him and to restore his franchise. "Moreover, the aforesaid Lords of the Council counselled that the said Mayor and Aldermen, as good and circumspect and discreet governors, having taken into consideration that William FitzWilliam having now, for some time, been deprived of his liberty, does not now carry on the business which he was accustomed to carry on, by which the King's Majesty loses the customs formerly arising from it, should restore the same William FitzWilliam to his former liberty and franchise. For although the same William FitzWilliam, as it is alleged, did not behave himself as a member of the same city ought to behave, yet good and circumspect governors ought rather to train a member to good than to cut off the same member, or to exercise cruelty towards the same."

The rest of the decree was in these words :—¹

"And as for the fine or mulct of 1,000 marks, mentioned above, which had been imposed on FitzWilliam on the aforesaid occasion, the Lords of the Council enjoined, as they had before warned, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs aforesaid, that, in future, they should do or allow to be done, or procure, or command nothing for the exaction or levying of the said fine, nor on any occasion aforesaid or occasions aforesaid should molest the same

¹ As to the Star Chamber see Part I, page 75, *ante*.

FitzWilliam until the Lords of the Council shall have terminated those causes with the express consent of the said Lords of the Council, under a penalty to the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of a Thousand Pounds.

“And because the said Mayor and Aldermen against the express command and prohibition of the Lord Chancellor, and while a case between them before the said Lords of the Council by virtue of letters of our Lord the King was pending, chose another Alderman in the place of the said William FitzWilliam, and admitted him, the said Lords of the Council ordered the same Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs aforesaid, to repair here before the Lords of the Council in the octave of Michaelmas next, to show why they should not be punished on account of the aforesaid contempt.”

Negotiations between the Corporation and FitzWilliam appear to have followed. Terms were offered to him,¹ but probably not accepted as from this period he appears to have entered into a totally different sphere of life. “My Lord Cardinal” (Wolsey), so writes

¹Sir W. FITZWILLIAM.
Corporation Repertory Book.

“18th November, 1511.

“If FitzWilliam will make humble suit and change his Company he shall be received as a freeman, and further shall be ordered according to his demeanour and his fine diminished (folio 105).

“6th February, 1511.

“Wardens of the Tailors came and made humble submission to the Mayor and Aldermen, and said that if they had offended they would make amends (folios 106-7).

“18th February, 1511.

“FitzWilliam to be disfranchised for ever, and to be pardoned his fine if the Common Council will agree. -

“20th February, 1511.

“The Recorder, Chamberlain, and Town Clerk to go to the Lord Chancellor, and authority given them to say that FitzWilliam shall be a Freeman of his own Company, and no Alderman, and pay 1,000 marks for his fine, or else to be Sheriff and discharged of his fine, or to be a Freeman and Alderman and change his Company, and be of another fellowship, and to pay no fine if the Common Council will agree (folio 108).

“6th March, 1511.

“William FitzWilliam to be a Freeman by redemption and discharged of all offices, and to pay scot as a freeman, and to pay 1,000 marks, or else to rest still discharged of this City as he is for ever, and then to be discharged of his fine of 1,000 marks if the Common Council shall agree thereto (folio 108b).

“10th March, 1511.

“William FitzWilliam to be a Freeman by redemption, and to be discharged of not paying 500 marks if the Common Council shall agree (folio 108b).

Cavendish, "against the malice of his enemies, took FitzWilliam into his service, made him his treasurer and high chamberlain, and, in conclusion, for his wisdom, gravity, eloquence, and porte, being a comely gentleman, made him one of the King's Council."

It is not recorded when he left the establishment of Wolsey, but each lived long enough for FitzWilliam to manifest his gratitude to the Cardinal.

From the fortune, which he ultimately disposed of both by deed and will, it is evident his trading had been most successful. He held estates in various counties, and in 1506 purchased Milton Manor, in Northamptonshire (the present seat of Earl FitzWilliam), from Robert Wittelbury, the former owner.

He had long resided in Essex, and in 1515 was nominated to the office of Sheriff for that county. The honour of knighthood was conferred upon him in or about the year 1522, and in the year 1524 he served as the Sheriff of the county of Northampton.

Wolsey, after his disgrace by Henry VIII, received a pardon from him, and an order in February, 1530, to retire to his diocese of York. In so doing, passing through Peterborough. "My Lord," writes Cavendish, "intending to remove from there shortly, commanded me to ride to Sir Will. FitzWilliam's, Knight, who dwelt within three or four miles, to provide him there (at Milton Place) a lodging for three or four days on his journey northwardes. And being with this Sir W. FitzWilliam, I did bring messages accordingly, whereof he was, as it appeared by his word and dede, the gladdest man alive that my Lord should so lovingly take his house in his way: saying, that he would be most heartily welcome of any man—the King, his Sovereign, except; saying furthermore that, 'My Lord should not nede to dislodge or discharge any part of his stuffe and carriage for his own use during his abode here, but should have all necessary stuffe of his own to occupy, unless it were my Lord's bed, for his own person.'" The report of this embassy rejoiced the Cardinal "not a little," and all the retinue were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move to Milton Place.

The "stuffe and carriage of my Lord" was no light burden to bear; his train was in number one hundred and three score persons, having with him twelve carts to carry this stuffe of his own, besides three score other carts of his daily carriage of necessities.

And now for his reception, "My Lord took his journey on the

Thursday in Easter week to Mr. FitzWilliam's, where he was joyously received, and had worthy and honourable entertainment at the only cost and charge of the said Mr. FitzWilliam all the time of my Lord being there with him." His stay was from the 1st to the 5th of April, 1530, and then my Lord Cardinal passed on to Stamford.

This bountiful behaviour was not long left unchallenged by Henry VIII, and FitzWilliam was called before the King, and by him demanded "how he durst entertain so great an enemy to the State?" His answer was (writes Stow) "That he had not contemptuously or wilfully done it, but only because he had been his master, and partly the means of his greatest fortunes." The King was so well pleased with this frank answer (saying himself had too few such servants) that he made FitzWilliam¹ a member of the Council.

Little more remains to be written, except that FitzWilliam, like other citizens of that date, was a church builder or restorer. Sir Harris Nicholas credits him with having rebuilt the greater part of St. Andrew Undershaft at his own expense, and FitzWilliam states upon his last will that he had lately caused the new chancel at Marham "to be made and newly edified there."

We have no records to show whether FitzWilliam continued to attend to the business of the Merchant Taylors Company. When his end was approaching and he was making a final disposition of his estate, he did not fail to avail himself of his Guild as his trustees for charitable objects, for by a deed of the 26th May, 1533, which is enrolled at Guildhall, it is evidenced that he paid to the Company 1,200 marks, in consideration of which they charged their estates in Lombard Street and Cornhill with the payment of 20*l.* per annum, to be applied as to 12*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to superstitious uses (by the Monastery of Croyland), and as to the residue of 7*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, for an obit for Sir William FitzWilliam at Marham Church; sums which still continue to be paid, not for superstitious uses, but for the poor of Marham and of the Merchant Taylors Company. Out of this obit sprang an endowment still in existence for divinity scholars at St. John's College, which has been made the subject of a new scheme during the year 1887.²

¹ Strype confuses him with his namesake who was made Treasurer of the Household in succession to Sir Thomas More (then raised to be Lord Chancellor) and who was ultimately created Earl of Southampton, and went on an embassy to France in 1529 (see Calais Chron., page 41) (Camden Society, 1846).

² See Part I, page 238, and Appendix 30, page 402.

Having made the Company the trustees for carrying out his religious and charitable endowments, he executed his will, dated the 28th May, 1534,¹ disposing of large landed estates in various counties for the benefit of his family, but his first directions relate to his funeral, and to the offices of benevolence, thus:—

“Wherever I happen to die in the Realm of England I will my corpse be conveyed to the chancel of Marham. I will my executors, without fraud or delay, cause all just debts to be immediately paid, and make restitution to all persons if they can duly prove I have injured them.”

Should the testator de cease in London, each of the five Orders of Friars: the Grey, the Black, Augustine, White, or Crossed Friars, were to have 5*l.*, to bring forth his corpse out of London, and to have in each place a trental [of thirty days] of masses.

To each of the parishes of St. Peter the Poor with St. Thomas the Apostle, and of Theydon 4*l.*, the priests saying a trental of masses for his and all Christian souls.

“For the marriages of poor maidens, 100*l.*,” and then “I remit and forgive all such poor as be in my debt, and not able to contest the same, whose names appeareth in my books of debts, under whose name I have written ‘Amore Dei Remitto,’ and I will they be no more troubled by my executors.”²

The testator then provides for his family.

His estates in Essex he gave to his wife for life, and then to his eldest son, Sir W. FitzWilliam, for ever. He also gave to his wife for life his mansion house in St. Thomas Apostle, she paying 4*l.* per annum for the delivery of poor prisoners within the City, “who shall be acquitted and remain for their fees.”

Gifts were made of 40*l.* to poor scholars, 30*l.* to other poor at Oxford and Cambridge, and of 50*l.* for repair of highways (as from Gaynes Park Hall and Chigwell, Essex).

His Guild was not forgotten, thus: “To the Master and Wardens of the Fellowship of Merchant Taylors, in the city of London, my best standing gilt cups, with covers, for a perpetual remembrance of me, to be kept in their Hall, and they to pray for my soul.”

Gaynes Park Hall and his manor place of Milton, with all therein contained, he gave to his eldest son in settlement. To his second son, Richard,³ other estates were given, lying in Essex, Northampton, and Hertford. To his third son, Christopher, money

¹ Printed in Collins' *Peerage*, Vol. 5, page 170, and Test. Vet., Vol. 2, page 665.

² See page 319, *post*.

³ Buried in 1520, in St. Peter the Poor. Stow, page 67.

to buy lands; and he gave him also his mansion and dwelling place in Bread Street, in the parish of St. Peter's. His fourth and youngest sons had devises of land made to them. The residue of his plate, jewels, &c., were to be divided, half to his children, and the other half to his poor kinsfolk, for the health and profit of his soul, according to the discretion of his executors who were (*inter alia*) the Recorder of London and Richard Waddington,¹ his cousin (who was Master of the Merchant Taylors Company in 1548).

He died August 9th, 1534, and was buried in the parish church at Marham, with his name and date of his death inscribed upon his tomb, which is still to be seen there.

Such was the founder of the noble house of FitzWilliam. We do not find that any of his sons were members of the Company, either before or after their father's disfranchisement; but when his grandson, Sir William, was serving in Ireland, his wife sent his evidence coffer to be placed in "the Treasury" of the Company for safe custody. When Sir William sent his son John with a letter on the 8th April, 1576, for its re-delivery, he was at once visited by Richard Hilles, and other members, deputed by the Court "at his lodgings, then being on this syde Aldgate, on the south syde of the strete, over against the Well," where "they spake to Sir William in his chamber, who, after hearty thanks for their courtesy in coming to him, acknowledged the letter to be his, and that he desired the cofer might be given to his son." The Court being thus satisfied of the son John's authority to receive the coffer, handed it over to him "for his receipt given on the letters."

¹ In the return regarding the loan of 14 Henry VIII (1522) this entry appears: "St. Peter's Poor, Bread Street, Richard Waddington and the executors of Sir William FitzWilliam have of his goods 1,000 marks.—"Cat. State Papers, Vol. 3, Part 2, page 1053.

CHAPTER VI.

RICHARD HUNN, FREEMAN, circa 1460-1514.

Constitutional importance of his case, p. 54.—Richard Hunn, Member of the Guild, p. 55.—Contemporary of Percyvale, p. 55.—Custom of sending children to nurse out of London, p. 55.—Death of Hunn's child, p. 55.—Mortuary dues claimed, p. 55.—Hunn's suit against the Rector, p. 55.—Counter-action against Hunn, p. 55.—Imprisoned in St. Paul's, p. 56.—Examined at Fulham by FitzJames for heresy, p. 56.—Found dead, p. 56.—Suicide or murder, p. 56.—Jury found for murder, p. 56.—Process for heresy, p. 56.—Declared a heretic, p. 56.—Body exhumed and burnt, p. 56.—Constitutional importance of Hunn's case, p. 56.—Two later entries respecting Hunn, p. 57.

BEFORE entering upon the facts it may be well to notice that Hunn's case had, when it arose, an important bearing on one of the controversies of his day, viz., the exemption from trial of church officers by the Civil Courts. In the 4th Henry VIII, a Bill had been promoted which was ultimately passed, limited till the next session of Parliament, enacting that all murderers and robbers should be denied "the benefit of clergy, *such as be in holy orders excepted,*" the limitation and the exception both being inserted to induce the Lords, where the clergy were strongly represented, to pass the Bill.¹ Under this Act murderers and felons were, as the Chroniclers state, brought to justice to the great satisfaction of the country, but when the Act came before Parliament for renewal, the clergy, both in Parliament and in Convocation, urged that it was an infringement of the rights of the Church, because the lower orders of the clergy and their officers were not included in the exception. Hunn's case arose pending the decision, and in consequence of it public feeling became aroused against the London clergy, each citizen looking at Hunn's case as likely to be his own. The Commons sent up a Bill (which received the Royal assent)² to restore his children to his forfeited property, and the Bishop's officers as implicated in his death were put on their trial in the King's Bench until the Attorney General, under the influence of Wolsey,

¹ Vol. 3, State of Realm, page 49.

² Lords Journals, Vol. 1, pages 28-41.

accepted their plea of not guilty, and the prisoners were discharged.¹

The circumstances attending this Merchant Taylor's death will therefore give his name a place in history so long as the chroniclers Hall² and Foxe³ are read, though possibly he was not the first of the craft to suffer⁴ for religion.

He resided in St. Margaret's, Bridge Street, and was probably a member of the Livery—if not in higher office—he was a contemporary of Sir John Percyvale, Sir Stephen Jenyns, and other worthies of the Company, and no doubt he bore his part in the mayoralties of these guildsmen, for he was “a man of true dealing and good substance living in the city of London,” when the incidents leading up to his death in the year 1514, happened.

At that period it was the fashion, which Richard Hunn had followed, for Londoners⁵ of condition to place their infant children out at nurse in the suburbs, and on the death of his child, five weeks old, a controversy arose with a priest of the name of Thomas Dryfield, in regard to a mortuary claimed from Hunn in regard to the child's death in Dryfield's parish in Essex.⁶

These dues, until abolished in Henry VIII's reign, were a constant source of strife between the clergy and laity. They were a supposed composition for any possibly forgotten dues which the deceased had wrongfully omitted to pay during his life. The parson's claim in this case, for which a suit was instituted in the Spiritual Court, was for a “bearing sheet.” Hunn objected that the infant had no property in the sheet, and thereupon sued out process in the Temporal Court to restrain the jurisdiction of the Spiritual Court, and to punish Dryfield.

In a counter-action, Hunn was accused of heresy before Richard FitzJames, Bishop of London (with whom, by-the-bye, the Merchant Taylors Company had made a contract of obit), who

¹ See the facts and arguments set out Kellway, pages 181–5, and Burnet, Book 1, Part I, page 29 (Ed. 1839).

² Chronicle, 6 Henry VIII, fol. 50,

³ Vol. 4, page 137.

⁴ John Badley, Tailor, burnt at Smithfield, A.D. 1400. ⁵ Foxe, page 238.

⁶ See Waters on Parish Registers, 1887, page 66.

⁶ Probably Foulness, formerly a chapelry, but now a rectory in the Archdeanery of Essex, at the mouth of the River Crouch, about thirty-five miles from London, for one Job Dryfield was appointed by FitzJames, Bishop of London, on the 8th March, 1509, and held the living until his death in October, 1530.*

* Newcourt's Repetory, Vol. 2, page 372.

caused him to be arrested and sent to prison in the Lollard's Tower at Paules.

On the 2nd December Hunn was taken to the chapel at Fulham and charged with certain spiritual offences:—(1.) That of discrediting the clergy; (2.) That he had offered to protect one, Joan Baker, “though it cost him a 100 marks,” and in condemning the Bishop's sentence upon her of open penance by saying “the Bishop of London and his officers have done open wrong in punishing Joan Baker¹ for heresy, for her sayings and opinions be according to the laws of God, wherefore the Bishop and his officers are more worthy to be punished for heresy.” The last charge was for “keeping divers English books damned by the Law—as the Apocalypse, Epistles, and Gospels, Wickliffe's damnable works, and other works containing infinite errors, which he had long been accustomed to read, teach, and study daily.”

Hunn was sent back to the Lollard's Tower, and on the morning of the 4th December, when the boy went up with his food, was found hanging with his face towards the wall—dead.

Was Hunn murdered, and if so, by whom? or, had he committed suicide? The issue was a serious one, and the Coroner at once (on the 6th December) summoned a jury to enquire into the facts. The depositions in full are to be found set out in Hall and Foxe with the finding of the jury, “that William Horsey, Clerk (the Bishop's Chancellor), Charles Joseph, the Summoner, and John Spalding, the Bellringer, had of their set malice killed and murdered the said Richard Hunn.”

The Bishop, to outwit or terrify the citizens, proceeded *ex officio* against Hunn after his death for heresy, and exhibited new articles against him.² These were proclaimed at Paules' Cross, and sentence for heresy was pronounced on the 16th December against Hunn with the usual consequences. The body, which had been buried, was exhumed³ and burnt at Smithfield on the 20th December for heresy—but his goods, to the value of 1,500*l.*, besides his plate and other jewels, were restored by the King's order to Roger Whaplod and Margaret (daughter of Hunn) his wife.⁴

These two entries have further reference to Richard Hunn:—⁵

“Roger Whaplod, Merchant Tailor, sent, by one Thomas Norfolk,

¹ See the case in Foxe, Vol. 4, page 175.

² That Henry VIII, as was recently suggested, impeached Thomas A'Beckett after his death appears not to be sustained by any existing records (Proc. S. of A., London, 1888).

³ Knight's Colet, page 84, note.

⁴ Cal. St. Pap., Dom. (Temp.), page 2.

⁵ 5 Foxe, page 27.

unto Dr. Goderidge, this bill following, to be read at his sermon in the Spital. A.D. 1529.

“A Bill read by the Preacher at the Spital.

“If there be any well-disposed person willing to do any cost upon the reparation of the conduit in Fleet-street, let him or them resort unto the administrators of the goods and chattels of one Richard Hun, late merchant tailor of London, which died intestate, or else to me, and they shall have toward the same six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, and a better penny, of the goods of the said Richard Hun; upon whose soul, and all christian souls Jesus have mercy !”

“For this bill, both Whaplod and Norfolk were brought and troubled before the bishop; and also Dr. Goderidge, who took a groat for reading the said bill,¹ was suspended for a time from saying mass, and also was forced to revoke the same at Paul’s Cross; reading this bill as followeth:

“The Revocation of Dr. William Goderidge, read at Paul’s Cross.

“‘Masters ! so it is, that where in my late sermon at St. Mary Spital, the Tuesday in Easter-week last past, I did pray specially for the soul of Richard Hun, late of London, merchant tailor, a heretic, by the laws of holy church justly condemned : by reason whereof I greatly offended God and his church, and the laws of the same, for which I have submitted me to my ordinary, and done penance there-for : forasmuch as, peradventure, the audience that was there offended by my said words, might take any occasion thereby to think that I did favour the said heretic, or any other, I desire you, at the instance of Almighty God, to forgive me, and not so to think of me, for I did it unadvisedly. Therefore, here before God and you, I declare myself that I have not favoured him or any other heretic, nor hereafter intend to do, but at all times shall defend the Catholic faith of holy church, according to my profession, to the best of my power.’”

¹ It was the manner at this time to take money for reading of bills at sermons, Ex Regist. Lond. (Editor of Foxe), and Dame T. Percyvale, by her will February, 1508, left 8*d.* for 15 years to come to the Preacher at St. Paul’s Cross and St. Mary Spittle, at the Easter Sermon, to the intent that her and her husband’s souls “may be reherced and prayed for,” and 4*d.* each to the aforesaid chauntry priests for taking “a ‘Bill’ with testator’s and her husband’s names to the aforesaid preachers at Poules and the Spittle.” (See note, page 19 *ante*).

RICHARD HILLES

(MASTER 1561-2, FOUNDER OF MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL),

AND

SIR THOMAS WHITE, KNT.,

(LORD MAYOR 1553-4, FOUNDER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,
OXFORD).

[We propose to deal with the lives of these worthies in continuous chapters, but in one memoir, for they were of the same trade, living at the same period, and influenced, though possibly in different ways, by the same events. Each had the cause of education at heart, and the College and School of which they were the founders have been in union for 300 years and upwards.]

CHAPTER VII.

HILLES' APPRENTICESHIP AND FREEDOM
(1514-1539).

Character of Hilles by his contemporaries, p. 59.—Parentage and birth, p. 60.—Education, p. 60.—Apprenticeship, p. 60.—Persecution, p. 61.—His departure for Flanders, p. 62.—Letters to Lord Cromwell, p. 62.—Laws in force against the Lollards prescribed, p. 63.—Freedom in the Merchant Taylors Company, p. 64.—A Bachelor in Budge, p. 64.—Summary of political events to 1534, p. 64.

THE subject of this chapter is one of those Worthies of the 16th century belonging to the Merchant Taylors' Company of whom no notice appears hitherto to have been taken, except that the records of the Company briefly notify to his successors that he was mainly instrumental in founding the Grammar School in 1561, and the Widows' Almhouses in 1587.

Yet it is certain from his letters which have been published in recent years that he was a man of considerable culture, of great benevolence, and of earnest religious feeling—the *vir pius et summa fidelitate præditus* of Cranmer; the kindly host in exile of Master John Hooper in his illness “nigh unto death,” the valued friend of

Miles Coverdale, and, if his feelings were reciprocated, "the faithful and very dear friend" of Sir George Barnes.¹ The leaders of the English Church confided in him, and Strype records, "in grateful and lasting memory of their good deeds," that Hilles and others (Merchant Taylors) "were the sustainers of the prisoners of the Gospel, and of such as were fled abroad for religion."²

Although, as we shall see, there are more materials than would be found in many cases for the life of a citizen of his period and station, yet it has concerned few persons hitherto to know more of Richard Hilles, than that he was an exile who is mentioned in the pages of Heylin and Strype, in the Zurich and other letters, and that he was a member of the Merchant Taylors Company; but the life is one of especial value as that of a citizen greatly interested in the progress of the Reformation, and doing what lay in his power to promote its success. A knowledge of his early life comes to us from the confidential letters which he then addressed to his co-religionists in Germany, wherein his motives of action are laid bare before us, and of his later life from the records of his Guild. From these sources of information his fellow guildsmen may learn something of the man to whose benevolence the citizens of London of the present generation are—as those of the past have been—indebted for that school raised by him "in honor of Christ Jesu," which, by a sound religious teaching, has influenced the destiny of some thousands who have been reared under its roof during the three centuries which have passed since Hilles established it.³

The name of Richard Hilles, spelt in various ways, appears upon our records many years before the subject of this memoir came into the world. Turning to the "Memorials" we find that a Richard Hill, or Hyll, or Hilles, was a contemporary of FitzWilliam, Pemberton, and other worthies, that he was a Freeman in 1436, a Warden in 1490, again in 1492, and then no doubt Master, although our records do not show more than the entry of "a gilt cup of the gifte of Master Richard Hill" (written Hall) in the Inventory of 1512. Whether our worthy was connected and in what degree with this Hill is not apparent, but that he was the

¹ The Lord Mayor up to October, 1553, when Sir Thomas White was elected to that office, page 158, *post*.

² Richard Springhame and Thomas and George Heton were I believe Merchant Taylors and exiles.—Zurich Letters (first series), pages 9-47 (note) and 65.

³ For educating 250; but since 1875, 500 boys are received into the School.

son of a Taylor is certain if we accept Machyn¹ as an authority, who being present at the Election Dinner, records emphatically that the Master and Wardens, Hilles being one of the latter, were "alle five borne in London and Tayllers sunnes alle."

Assuming him to have been 21 on his attaining his freedom, the date of Hilles' birth may be given as 1514. His father and mother appear to have lived on London Bridge within the parish of St. Magnus and, in 1532-3, he first comes to our notice as the apprentice to "a good merchant called Nicholas Cosyn² at the sign of the Anchor on London Bridge."

It is clear, therefore, that Hilles sprang from a good social grade. He writes "of his brother, Butler, having sold his whole patrimony" in 1541, and of his being "in fear lest it should come to the King's ears by means of his sister's husband, who belongs to the Court, and he may be forbidden again to leave the kingdom." But the term "brother" was only a sobriquet.

If he followed the same branch of trade throughout his life, it was that of a clothworker,³ as by his will he made provision for "poor impotent men shearing with the broad shears, or rowing at the perch," and the frequent mention of his trade in cloth sales, and his holding from the Company tenter fields for the dressing of cloth would lead to the belief that he was a merchant and dresser of cloth.

His education in one of the London schools⁴ must have given him a knowledge of Latin—which at that period must have been a necessity to a man in the middle class of life. The Treatise referred to in his letter to Cromwell, and the letter⁵ itself, both written in his 18th or 19th year, would lead us to conclude that he had not neglected his educational advantages. "God, who

¹ The Herald's Visitation of London, 1568.

R^d Hilles al's Hilles of Milton in the county of = Elizabeth da of — Berde
Kent

R¹ Hilles gent citizen and Marchant Taylor of = Agnes da of Xtofer Lacy of
London Yorkshier gent.

*John Hilles
sonne & heir

Gerson
2 sonne

Barnabas
3 sonne

Daniel
4 sonne

* NOTE.—This John obtained a grant of arms dated 15 March, 1586. See Herald's Visitation 1633-4, Vol. I, page 385.

² Master in 1549.

³ Page 201.

⁴ As to these, see page 157.

⁵ Fac-simile, and Appendix 2, page 351.

dealeth to every man the measure of faithe and gifts according to His will (writes Hilles in his first letter to Bullinger), has bestowed upon me some little knowledge of Latin, but not the ability of expressing myself at all clearly in that language, so that I have never yet ventured to write Latin to any one." German he could not master even after some years' residence with the people; but possibly he may have known French, as the intercourse with the French provinces before the Reformation was frequent, and he informed Cromwell, from Flanders, of his intention to visit Paris.

His religious troubles arose during his apprenticeship, and he thus sets them forth to Thomas Cromwell—the minister of Henry VIII—in a letter from Roone, in Flanders, under date of January, 1532-3.

"It pleased God to give me some knowledge of his son Jesus Christ and on one Sunday afternoon when I was idle I thought I would go about some good thing to keep me from idleness, and as a young man once asked me to shew him my mind on that part of St. James' Epistle how Abraham was justified by works, I made the treatise which I have sent to you [Thomas Cromwell] all in my own hand. My master sente me over six days before Christmas to be made free in Flanders, where I heard that the Bishop of London (Stokesley) had my treatise in his hand, which my master confirmed, and as he was loth 'to forsake my service' he wept and exhorted me to revoke, and got another merchant to examine me. They asked me 'if I thought I was wiser than all other men?' I replied 'I counted myself altogether naught and desired to conforme my will to Scripture.' They continued this course calling me "opynatyffe," and I replying 'that I hoped God would not allow me to dishonour his truth.'"¹

This shewing "of his mind to a young friend" upon a passage in Scripture led to serious consequences: the first of these may have been his absence, disguised under the alleged benefit "that he might be free in Flanders."² As the treatise had got into the

¹ See Appendix 2, page 351.

² There was a great commercial traffic with the Low Countries, and under the "Intercursus Magnus" of 1496 or some other treaty our fellow citizens were made "free" of certain towns in Flanders. Thus Sir John Skevington (Master 1510) by his will directs his executors to make his apprentice Vavassour free in Flanders at the cost of his estate. December, 1524.—Cal. St. Papers, vol. 4, page 411, and Hall's Customs, vol. 1, 110.

Bishop's hands it could not have been long, had he remained in London, before he would have been incarcerated in what was the terror of those times "the Bishop's Prison," in the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's.

The second probable consequence was persecution, to escape which, and on his return to complete his apprenticeship with some other master (as Cosyns, for fear's sake, would have nothing more to do with him) Hilles, as we have seen, wrote to Thomas Cromwell, and he ends his letter thus:—"In conclusion my master said he would not for 100*l.* help me with 1*l.* for fear of the Bishop. I am now going to Paris and my master hopes that I shall return again from Christ, and then be his servant. But he must miss of his purpose. None would take me in his service for fear of the Bishop. I therefore desire to have some master out of England. My master would gladly employ me in France. The man who brought this over did not give me two hours' warning. If my father and mother would labour for me I pray you shew them your favour."¹

His mother, Elizabeth Hilles, like most mothers, did labor for him by writing at once to Cromwell praying his help, for her son went from town to town without succour.

"I beg you will remember my poor son, Richard Hilles, who sent you a letter from Roone. I send for his master, Cossyn, who dwelles on London Bridge, of the Fellowship of Merchant Taylors. He stands in much more fear than I trust he needs of retaining him. I wish my son to serve him or some other of the same craft, that he may keep his term, and not lose his freedom. He has no help where he is now and goes from town to town without succour."²

The fears of Nicholas Cosyns were not, as the law against heresy then stood, altogether unreasonable. When the Lollards arose in England in an earlier century, severe penal laws were enacted for their suppression, and Parliament then determined that the voice of the Church and of her appointed ministers only should be heard. Therefore, in the 5th of Richard II a statute (St. 2, c. 5) was passed which, after reciting the evils of preaching without the authority of the Bishop, ordered that by the King's command the Sheriffs and Ministers, or other official persons should arrest all such

¹ Mr. Gasquet (Vol. 1, page 316) claims Hilles as one who suffered for the Catholic truth.

² See Letter 3 in the Appendix, page 353.

preachers, according to the certificate of the Prelates, and also "their Fautors, maintainors, and abettors," and hold them "in arrest and strong prison" till they will "testify them according to the law and reason of Holy Church."

The rigour of this law was increased in the year 1400-1, not only by rendering any preacher of false doctrine, but any writer of any book, or any person who should favour such preacher or writer, liable to arrest and imprisonment on suspicion of his offence until he should have purged himself of such erroneous opinions according to the laws of the Church.

The Bishop had jurisdiction against the offender in custody, and within three months might award him imprisonment or fine according to his discretion, with the ultimate punishment, on his refusal to renounce his erroneous opinions, of being burnt by the Sheriff. Lest this law should be held in abeyance and not put in execution, all the Ministers of the civil administration of the country on entering office were to be sworn to put it in force against heretics, and to assist the Bishop and his commissaries.¹

The laws we have mentioned were not obsolete, but in 1534 another statute for the prevention of heresy was passed (the 25 Henry VIII) which confirmed them, and gave authority for a jury of 40s. freeholders to be empanelled to present for heresy. The Sheriffs also were ordered in their tourns or half-yearly circuits to enquire for and present heretics for trial to the Bishop, who was first to put them to penance, and if they did not renounce their errors, then to death by burning by the lay power.

If, therefore, it should have pleased the Bishop to adjudge Hilles' treatise on St. James to be "heresy," then, if Cosyns had taken him back after or when such a decision was come to, he, Cosyns, was his "maintainor" if not his "abettor," and what security had he of property or liberty, or may be of life itself? The terms of apprenticeship under which the mutual obligations of the master and apprentice were created² made Hilles the inmate of Cosyns's family, and subject to his control, so that the apprentice might in some degree criminate his master by his obnoxious opinions.

We shall see on Hilles' letters other instances of the terror in which the Bishop and his prison were held by men of a higher stamp than Cosyns. How the difficulty was got over is not shown, but our records contain Richard Hilles' admission to the

¹ 2 Henry V, cap. 7.

² Part I, page 13, and Appendix 1, page 344.

freedom of the Company A.D. 1535, when probably Sir Thomas White was Master.

This membership obliged him to take the oaths for Roman observances which were in force under the ordinances of 1507,¹ and he became a Bachelor in Budge of the Yeoman Company. The civic throne was in the possession of Sir John Allen, the Mercer, "a man," as Stow describes him, "of great wisdom and also of great charity," who was to be succeeded in his office by Sir Ralph Warren, whose widow, in later years, was reckoned by her second husband, Sir Thomas White, as a co-foundress of his college of St. John's, Oxford.

It must be noted that Hilles described his late master as a "good merchant," which was the occupation Hilles carried on during the eventful years of his residence in London, dealing, as we should presume, with the northern parts of Europe. When he entered upon life the contest with Rome had commenced.² In 1534 the Papal power in England was set aside and the clergy could only act in convocation with the *King's* assent; the payment of first fruits to Rome was also forbidden. In 1535 the Act for the Royal supremacy followed, and the impeachment of Fisher and More for treason by denying it. In 1536 the suppression of the lesser monasteries was carried out, provoking the insurrection of Lincolnshire, and the Pilgrimage of Grace in their favour; but which did not save the larger monasteries from the King's rapacity.³

The divorce of Katherine; the marriage of the King with Anne Boleyn, the birth of Queen Elizabeth, then her mother's execution, followed by the re-marriage of the King, the birth of Edward VI.,⁴ and the death of Jane Seymour, are events to be crowded into the period closing with 1539, in which year was passed the "Act for abolishing diversity of opinion concerning the Christian religion," or, in popular language, the "Act of the Six Articles," from the operation of which Hilles' exile shielded him.

¹ Part I, p. 41. ² See the Statutes of 25 Henry VIII, c. 19, 20, and 21.

³ See Part I, page 140 (note).

⁴ The Corporation Records have this entry (Journal 14, fol. 47, 15th October, 29 Henry VIII, 1537) :—"Proclamation of the birth of a prince and of his intended christening on Monday next, setting forth that 'as there is and hath been great infection of the plague both in the city and the suburbs,' no one of whatever rank or condition shall repair to the Court but only such as be appointed by special letters from his highness, or some of his counsel. On the death of Jane Seymour, Sir Richard Gresham ordered 1,200 Masses to be celebrated for her soul within the City."—See Letter of 8 Nov., 1537, Vol. 8, Part II, page 574, St. Papers, Henry VIII (1830).

CHAPTER VIII.

HILLES' EXILE (1539-1548).

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HILLES was married early in life—about the time or soon after his freedom—to a Yorkshire lady. His place of residence in London is not disclosed. He speaks of “his neighbours” as knowing his own and his wife's family, and, if left to conjecture, we should say he returned to his old parish of St. Magnus; however, soon after the execution of Queen Anne Boleyn, in May, 1536, troubles arose against him either in St. Magnus or in some other parish.

“From the death of Queen Anne, who was beheaded, until my departure abroad (he writes) “some of my neighbours in London grievously detracted on my character because I refused to give a small piece of money (for the honour of God as it is commonly said) according to the annual custom of the parish for placing large wax candles in the church before the crucifix and the sepulchre. They first of all acted kindly with me to my parents and friends (whose opinions they knew would have great weight with me in this matter), and brought forward a custom of I know not how many five hundred years, when a custom of one hundred years continuance had with them the force of law. I replied that I knew of no custom which could prevail in opposition to Christ, who saith that ‘God is a Spirit, &c.’ They immediately objected having been taught by the minister of the parish, ‘Do you then deny that God is worshipped by external observances?’ No, for Christ, who is not custom, but the truth, saith ‘Let your light

so shine &c., 'And for this reason I think,' he added, in St. John iv, verse 24, 'and in truth.'"

Which clause I thus explained to them, "in truth, that is truly and according to the word of God, that is to say, in innocence, piety, mercy, and holiness of life, without which no one shall see God. But the Divine Majesty is by no means worshipped by external observances, which are merely invented or devised by men for worship, for He needeth not anything neither is He pleased with these vain and corruptible things."

For a time Hilles appeared to have silenced his accusers, but not for long, for he thus continues:—

"After some months' time, when they began to have some hope of a change of affairs, they often returned to me with menaces, and threatened that in case of my not coming to my senses, they would lay an information against me before the bishop¹ of our diocese. This they did, as I continued firm in my non-compliance, but the bishop ordered them to be quiet for a short time (at least, so it was told me) and that all things would at last turn out as they could wish. For he was in expectation that the happy day would shortly arrive, but he did not live to see it; for being much harassed by Cromwell and others on a frivolous suspicion of not having aided the King's attempts in abolishing the Pope's supremacy, and the destruction of the monasteries, he died miserably, being, as it appeared, almost worn out with grief."

On the 30th September, 1538, Cromwell sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the King's name, orders of a halting character, that images might be used for a remembrance; but the church officers were to remove "all images as have been superstitiously applied to pilgrimages and offerings or treated with more proportional regard, and to this end they were not to suffer any candles or tapers to be set before any image, but only the light of the rood loft; the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light before the sepulchre. These were to be allowed to stand for the ornaments of the churches and the solemnization of Divine worship."

Upon the issuing of this order, continued Richard Hilles:—

"The churchwardens immediately sent for me and inquired of me in the church whether I still continued obstinate in my

¹ This was probably John Stokesley, who preceded Bonner in the See of London. He died in 1539.

purpose against the King's Majesty's injunctions. I replied that these orders did not concern me, respecting which they appeared to me to triumph before they had gained the victory. For I am neither, I told them, a bishop nor a churchwarden; nor supposing I held any office of the kind, do these orders enjoin me to maintain your lights, but only not to remove them from the church, which I do not attempt to do. Moreover, I said from this letter coming from the king, I have great hopes that after no long interval you will not be at liberty to burn these candles of yours any longer, either before the crucifix or at the sepulchre. For the same result is to be expected from this tradition as from other superstitions which it is manifest to everyone that the same planting is the work of an earthly high priest, and will be plucked up by our Heavenly Father just as that is which is now extirpated by the King's commandment. They then dismissed me saying, 'you tell us that you do not attempt to remove the holy lights from our churches when yet you endeavour by your example to draw, if they dared, all men after you (especially foolish boys and young men like yourself) and refusing to do what your own and your wife's parents, grave and prudent persons, and what all your honest neighbours do not disdain to do,' which is certainly true, for my mother, as I have just heard, has paid the sum for me for one or two years that she might appease the fury of the dogs, and that I might not fall into worse peril as she much feared would be the case.

"After this, I heard no more about this affair except that the day after I left London (in 1539) for this place, or at least for Antwerp, the [Bishop of] Winchester (Gardiner), who had just been appointed the King's lieutenant in ecclesiastical matters, to whom I had probably been known by name (for his diocese extends to the middle of London Bridge) being openly about to examine some of my neighbours who were apprehended before my departure, endeavoured to fish out of them something about me. And he said to one of them in the presence of them all as they were standing in his palace: 'And you, you foolish man, for what purpose did you daily receive so many persons into your house seeing you are a poor and needy mechanic?' The man replied 'there was no such assembly of persons at my house, especially of suspected ones.' 'What!' said the bishop, 'you are lame with those who halt' (for he used some proverbial expression of the kind) 'was not Richard Hilles every day at your house, teaching you and others like you?' The accused denied this altogether,

and my most bitter enemies, who were men of wealth, were unwilling openly to inform against me of their own accord, in compliance with the last injunction of the King, and to be regarded in the sight of all as guilty of treachery against their neighbours. The bishop, too, not perhaps being aware of my absence, made open enquiry respecting me, and said that I should take myself off and no longer continue to poison his flock."

It is certain, therefore, from this account of himself that Hilles was a man whom those of the Roman Church who were then opposed to the reformation would very readily have punished, and so circumstanced, he decided to leave England and become a voluntary exile.

But this resolution in the then state of the law could only be carried out with difficulty and peril. Heretics were to be held within the realm for punishment, and the ports of the kingdom were closed against them. For here, again, the laws against the Lollards were not only in force but had been strengthened. Thus the 5th Richard II, chapter 2—which prohibited, or as the statute expressed it, "defendeth the passage utterly of all manner of people leaving the realm except Lords and other great men, true and notable merchants, and the King's soldiers;" by enacting that any other person save as of and without the King's licence (which only the officers in certain ports could give) should forfeit the money carried with him—had been supplemented by the 31st Henry VIII, chapter 8, which gave the King's proclamation the force of a statute, and made it high treason to leave the realm to escape its observance. Had Hilles, therefore, stated that he left the realm (as indeed he did) for security against persecution, his licence would, as a matter of course, have been refused; or had the same fact become notorious while he was living abroad he would have been recalled under the penalty of forfeiture as an outlaw.¹

Seeing the storm arising which swept away Cromwell and raged furiously against the Reformers, Hilles, using his trade of a merchant as a reason for his departure, sailed for Antwerp with his wife and servant, and departed into exile in the summer of 1539, leaving behind his other servants with his general establishment.

¹ Between 1515-23 licenses to go to Calais in the retinue of the Deputy were granted to these Merchant Taylors:—Thomas Roche, John Fulwood, John Newyn-ton, Thomas Jenyns, Richard Benson, Roger Milbanke, Lawrence Hyll, John Dulton, and others.—Cal. State Papers (*passim*).

He did not go too soon for his own safety, as in the year of his departure the laws against heresy were made more oppressive by the Statute of the Six Articles.¹ That Act for abolishing diversity in opinion placed every man in regard to his opinions, or almost to his thoughts, on religion, under the surveillance of the Bishop or the Commissioners appointed.

Having enacted penalties the statute provided that the King should issue commissions to any persons whom he selected to take information of offences against the Act on the oaths of two able and lawful persons, and this presentment inquired into by the oaths of other twelve men, was to have the force and effect of a presentment by "verdict."

The Bishops in their ordinary visitation were empowered, as the justices in session, to present offenders under the Act, and the Commissioners had power to issue process, and the Sheriffs were bound to carry it out.

As it appeared to the persecuting party that the areas of the hunting grounds for heretics were too wide, and that many were lost because the coverts were now not properly watched; in other words, that as the Bishop's diocese was too large for effectually working the Act, the King was to be at liberty to issue commissions to archdeacons and other officials of the diocese to hold inquiries for religious offences.²

Following thereupon a Royal Commission was issued on the 29th January, 1540, for Bishop Bonner to hold an enquiry at the Guildhall, and to take information against the citizens who were brought before him. Many were summoned and appeared, but not to deal with the subject to satiety, we give the presentments of the two parishes lying to the right and left of the Company's Hall.

"A brief tale of the troubles at London in the time of the Six Articles. Persons presented with their causes.

"St. Martin's at the Well with Two Buckets:

"John Greene,³ Christopher Coots, Alexander Frere, John Bush, Geo. Durant, Matthew Palmer, Will Selly, Will Brodi, W. Semerton, M. Davids, apprentices. All these were prosecuted for contemning the ceremonies of the church. Also some for walking in the

¹ 31 Henry VIII, c. 14.

² 32 Henry VIII, c. 15 (1540).

³ Freedom 27th March, 1551, late apprentice to Richard Williams, Merchant Taylor. James was on the Court in 1494.

sacring time (*i.e.*, the ringing at the elevation of the host) with their caps on. Some for turning their heads away. Some for sitting at their doors when sermons were in the church.

"St. Benet's Fink :

"Martyn Bishop's wife. She was presented by her curate for being not shriven in Lent. Nor receiving at Easter. Also she did sit light by the curate when he told her thereof. Thomas Adnet, John Palmer, Robert Cooke. The cause laid for these three persons was for reasoning of the Scripture and of the sacraments. John Cocker. This man was noted for a great searcher of new preachers and maintainer of Barnes' opinion.¹ John Brutes. For forbidding his wife to use beads. Thomas Kelde. He refused to take penance and absolution, and did eat flesh upon a Friday before Lent."

Three of the places resorted to by the English refugees during the time of our religious troubles were Geneva, Zurich, and Strasburg; each of these received the reformers with a kindly welcome, and as in 1528 the Strasburg Council had renounced the sacrifice of the mass, R. Hilles may for this reason have chosen Strasburg, where at any rate he settled.

Constant intercourse between these several communities was kept on foot, and as the refugees were more or less known to each other, they had frequent correspondence on matters of faith and doctrine. In the estimation of the English reformers Henry Bulinger held a high place, and very many letters addressed to him by the leading reformers and Bishops of the English Church have come to us through the publications of the Parker Society.

He was the fifth son of the parish priest and Dean of Bremgarten, being born in July, 1504, and had been bred like Hilles in the school of adversity, for his father, not from poverty, but covetousness, kept him in extreme penury, so that he had as a singer to beg his bread from door to door of the neighbours.²

His education was commenced at Emmerich-on-the-Rhine, and completed at Cologne, where he graduated as a Bachelor in 1520, and as a Master 1522. For six years he was the teacher and

¹ Robert Barnes, educated at Louvain, and then Master of the House of the Augustines at Cambridge. Was a free prisoner at the Austin Friars for heresy; a friend of Coverdale's; preached at Easter, 1540, before Sir W. Roche (the Draper) and Corporation; then sent to the Tower, and on 28th July, 1540, burnt in Smithfield by the Sheriffs Laxton and Bowes.

² Carlyle writes of Luther: "He had to beg as the school children in those days did—singing for alms and bread from door to door."

lecturer to the monks of the Cistercean Order at Cappel, and while there wrote more than fifty essays or treatises mostly upon religious subjects. In 1527 he obtained leave of absence to attend Zwingles' lectures, and to perfect himself in Hebrew and Greek.

He returned to Bremgarten in June, 1529, and entered upon a course of preaching in the near villages upon the doctrines of the Reformation. He married in the following August, and in February 1531, in consequence of the disastrous defeat of the Protestants at Cappel, he returned to Zurich. Bullinger then became the leader of the Reformed Church there and was soon elected preacher to the Cathedral.

Early in 1554, a large influx of refugees from the English Church, as Jewel, Parkhurst, Horn, Pilkington, Lever, Humphrys, and Cole, reached Zurich, and excited his interest and sympathy. He died in September, 1574, and lies buried in the Cathedral Church.

Such was the man who sought the acquaintance of Richard Hilles, and who appears from his letters to have constituted himself his spiritual counsellor and guide.

As we have hitherto assumed, now let us show that the correspondent with Bullinger, as with Cromwell, was the *same* Merchant Taylor.

Nowhere in his letters to Bullinger¹ does Hilles refer to any London Guild, although he explains to him as his reason for not being a freeman of Strasburg that such might affect his rights under his freedom of London and of Brabant. But there are certain incidents that would lead a Merchant Taylor on reading Hilles' letters to suppose that he might be one, for in an early letter he reckons an event as happening just "after the Feast of St. John Baptist"; and his trade in cloth would confirm the same impression.

The fact is placed, however, beyond reasonable doubt, when he refers to the births and names of his children, and we look to the records of the Merchant Taylors Company on the days in which they—or persons of the same peculiar names—were admitted to the freedom.

Thus of their first child he writes in November, 1543:—

"My wife heartily wishes for you and your wife every happiness; and says she has no doubt but that God helped her the sooner in her confinement by reason of your good prayers. On the second

¹ These are to be found in the Zurich Letters, 1 and 2 series (1842-5), and in the original letters (1 and 2 series), 1846-7.—Printed, London, by the Parker Society.

of this month she brought forth to the church of Christ a son who, as the women say, is quite large enough for a mother of tall stature, and whom I immediately named Gershom."¹

The Merchant Taylors' records show the admission of "Gerson Hilles" to his freedom by patrimony on the 8th November, 1565.

Of the second of his sons he writes in April, 1545, thus—

"My wife most dutifully commends herself to you and to your most faithful wife: and she also thanks you for that godly prayer which in your late letter to me you poured forth to God on behalf of our little son Barnabas, and also for the Swiss shoes given to my Gershom."

The same records show "Barnabas Hilles" admitted to his freedom on the 19th of January, 1567.

Before considering the contents of Hilles' letters which are always in *reply* to Bullinger's, the question naturally arises—What could have been the motive or inducement for Bullinger to commence and invite Hilles to this correspondence, and how was *he* to be benefited by it? In the matter of giving and receiving benefits the balance of advantage was clearly in Hilles' favour, if we may accept his own statements. Thus in April, 1545, he writes:—

"Although I never doubted of your love to every member of Christ, and have often experienced your especial kindness to myself, you nevertheless do not cease to make it every day more apparent by your presents; which indeed are so far gratifying to me, inasmuch as they are the manifestations of that regard towards me, which it has ever been my earnest desire that you should entertain: they have, however, been less acceptable, because I would wish rather to spare you any expense in this respect, and especially since I know of no way of returning the obligation; and if I did, your kindness would not allow me to do so."

Again in January, 1546:—

"John Burcher lately wrote me word, that either you or your pious wife had intended to send us a cheese against Christmas; but I am glad you did not, for we have received more gifts and favours from you than we shall ever be able to return. Wherefore be sparing, I pray you, sir, of your presents, and notwithstanding entertain no doubt of our regard towards you."

From Hilles Bullinger could gain nothing in culture or scholarship, for Hilles' attitude towards him was that of Saul at the feet of Gamaliel. Take as an illustration his letter of

¹ Exo'l. ii, ver. 22.

December, 1542, which shows also the course of patristic and theological study which Hilles was then entering upon.

"I received your books, most esteemed master, together with the letter; and I feel more gratitude for them in my heart than I can express with my pen. And yet, had I known that you were about to present me with those books, I should certainly have bought a copy for myself at Frankfort, and not have said a word to you about them. For why should I lay an additional burden upon your kindness, after the great expense you have already incurred there on my account? I wish, sir, I had consulted you sooner about reading authors and studying histories. For first I read Bernard Justiniani¹ on the affairs of the Venetians, the Tripartite History,² and the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius together with his Evangelical Preparation, and Demonstration. I do not so much regret having read them, only that I now perceive from your letter, that I could have employed the time I spent in perusing them to better purpose.

"The Demonstration of Eusebius was rather wearisome to me, because the Holy Scriptures are every where explained so absurdly, if I may use such an expression, especially with respect to the WORD,³ and against the Jews.⁴ He seems, moreover, to entertain wrong notions about free-will,⁵ the marriage of the clergy,⁶ and the fifth chapter of Matthew. I found some things, however, in that

[All the notes are by the Editor of the Letters.]

¹ Bernard Justiniani or Giustiani was nephew of the patriarch of Venice of that name. He went many times to Rome as ambassador from the republic, and died in 1489, leaving several works, the principal of which is a History of Venice, printed in 1492.

² The Tripartite History is a compilation by Cassiodorus from the Latin translations of the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

³ Hilles probably refers to the third chapter of the fourth book of the Evangelical Demonstration of Eusebius, in which he discusses the nature of Christ, the *Logos*; which, he says, God produced from himself, as the sun produces his light, or the flower its scent, &c. The passage is too long to quote.

⁴ The object of the second book of the Evangelical Demonstration is to prove the vocation of the Gentiles, and the rejection of the unbelieving Jews.

⁵ The following passage may perhaps be referred to. *Τούτον γάρ ἀπάση ψυχῇ φυσικὸν νόμον βοηθὸν αὐτῇ καὶ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τῶν πρακτέων ὁ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργὸς ὑπεστήσατο*, κ. τ. λ. *Præp. Evang.* vi. p. 250. Ed. Viger. 1688.

⁶ *Μάλιστα δ' οὖν τοῖς (sc. διδασκάλους καὶ κήρυξι τοῦ τῆς θεοσεβείας λόγου) ἀναγκάως τὰ νῦν διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ κρείττω σχολὴν ἢ τῶν γάμων ἀναχώρησις σπουδάζεται, ἅτε περὶ τὴν ἔνθεον καὶ ἄσαρκον παιδοποιῶσαν ἀσχολουμένοις, οὐχ ἐνὸς οὐδὲ δυεῖν παίδων, ἀλλ' ἀθρόως μυρίου πλήθους τὴν παιδοτροφίαν, καὶ τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν παιδευσιν, τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀγωγῆς τοῦ βίου τῆς ἐπιμέλειαν ἀναδεγμένοις.* *Dem. Ev.* i. p. 32.

work which pleased me exceedingly : for instance, his opinion respecting the New Testament, and about Daniel's seventy weeks.¹ I ran through these books before I came to Zurich ; and also Tertullian, whom I found to be such as you had commended him to me. I was not so much displeased with the difficulty of his style, as I was delighted and profited by his remarkable piety, simplicity, and right judgment respecting the eucharist, as well as on many other points. I collected many things from him (as also from the ecclesiastical histories), by which I shall be able to stop the mouths of many of my countrymen, who are always telling us, that to the pure all things are pure ; that God is a spirit ; that he only requires of us our heart, and a mind well imbued with knowledge, —and the like epicurean sentiments.

"I happened to light upon that author on sale here in the market, on which occasion (not, as I think, without the providence of God) I bought and read him over. But as he was scarcely known to me by name before, he procured me this advantage, namely, of affording the first handle for my pouring forth my questions to you when I was with you. Not, however, thank God, that I am ignorant of what has been observed by many, and as you well know, that the opinions of this writer are frequently to be rejected ; and that in other places he must be read with judgment, even in the treatise *De præscriptione Hæreticorum* : as when he says, that one must not dispute with heretics,² nor must they be permitted to have or compare Holy Scripture with catholics : likewise, that what the apostles preached ought not otherwise to be proved than by means of the very same churches which they themselves founded,³ &c. Although indeed he is speaking of real heretics, and of the church in his age, whose doctrine was the same as that of Holy Scripture, and which invented nothing of its own to remedy by omission, addition, or change any contrariety supposed to be discovered in the Scriptures.⁴

"After I returned from you I read, first, Cyprian and then Lac-

¹ The passages here referred to are in the Dem. Ev. Book i. ch. 5, 6, and Book viii. ch. 2, but are too long to quote.

² Hunc igitur potissimum gradum obstruimus, non admittendos eos ad ullam de Scripturis disputationem. De Præser. Hær. Cap. xv. p. 207. Ed. Rigalt. 1695. See also cap. xxxvii.

³ Quid autem prædicaverint, id est, quid illis Christus revelaverit, et hic præscribam non aliter probari debere, nisi per easdem ecclesias quas ipsi apostol condiderunt, ipsi eis prædicando, tam viva (quod aiunt) voce, quam per epistolas postea. Ibid. p. 209, cap. xxi.

⁴ The concluding part of this sentence is confused in the original.

tantius, the reading of which authors I do not altogether regret. I regard the one as the defender of my cause, yea, as I think, the cause of God, against the adversaries; and the other I have become acquainted with (as you told me I should do) not without abundant fruits of godliness."

Then follows a passage relating to his persecutions in England which has been already set out. And he continues:—

"You now see, my most reverend master, what I meant by saying that Lactantius was the advocate of my cause, and that I was glad, or at least did not regret, that I had read him through. I wondered, however, what he meant by his discourse about the pollution of dæmons, and of their intercourse with women;¹ about the virtue of almsgiving;² on the passion of anger, which he ascribes even to God himself;³ on the abstaining from the use of flowers and perfumes, which he calls the allurements of pleasure, and the weapons of the enemy of mankind;⁴ also about the comparing and weighing good works with evil ones;⁵ about the life of the just upon earth after the day of judgment, with Christ reigning a thousand years;⁶ who, during those years, shall give all nations in bondage to the elect, who nevertheless shall again lie concealed a short time under the earth, through fear of the prince of the dæmons⁷ then unbound, who shall attack them, and of the

¹ The passage is as follows: *Illos (scilicet angelos) cum hominibus commorantes dominator ille terræ fallacissimus consuetudine ipsa paulatim ad vitia pellexit, et mulierum congressibus inquinavit.*—*Instit. Div. II. 15.*

² *Quod si mortalis conditio non patitur esse hominem ab omni macula purum, debent ergo largitione perpetua peccata carnis aboleri.*—*Ibid. VI. 13.*

³ *Quidam putant ne irasci quidem Deum omnino . . . quæ persuasio veritatem atque religionem funditus tollit.*—*Ibid. II. 18.*

Et gratia et ira et miseratio habent in Deo materiam, recteque illis utitur summa illa et singularis potestas ad rerum conservationem.—*De Ira Dei. xv.*

In some cases, he says, non cohibenda ira, sed etiam, si jacet, excitanda est. *Quod autem de homine dicimus, id etiam de Deo, qui hominem similem sui fecit.*—*Ibid. XVIII.*

Ubi ira non fuerit, imperium quoque non erit. Deus autem habet imperium; ergo et iram, qua constat imperium, habeat necesse est.—*Ibid. XXIII.*

⁴ *Illecebræ istæ voluptatum arma sunt illius cujus opus unum est expugnare virtutem.*—*Div. Instit. VI. 32.*

⁵ *Judicabuntur ergo qui Deum scierunt, et facinora eorum, id est, mala opera cum bonis collata ponderabuntur; ut si plura et gravia fuerint bona justaque, dentur ad vitam beatam; si autem mala superaverint, condemnentur ad penam.*—*Ibid. VII. 20.*

⁶ *Ille (scil. Christus) cum deleverit injustitiam judiciumque maximum fecerit ac justos qui a principio fuerunt ad vitam restauraverit, mille annis inter homines versabitur, eosque justissimo imperio reget.*—*Ibid. VII. 24.*

⁷ *Idem (scil. princeps Dæmonum) cum mille anni regni, hoc est septem millia cœperint terminari, solvetur denuo, et custodia emissus exibat; atque omnes*

multitude of the nations who shall rebel against them, with other things of the same kind, in his epitome.

"Cyprian, likewise in many places, seems to be too severe; especially in the 2nd Epistle of the 4th Book, where he treats of those who come to a late repentance. He also prates most wonderfully about the purging of sins by alms-giving,¹ and about the trial of the good by fire.² Besides, it may be doubted, in my judgment at least, whether the various passages about satisfaction can be so reconciled, as that he may appear to have a godly and correct notion of the righteousness of Christ, especially in Book i. Ep. 7, and Book iii. Ep. 14, and on the merits of the martyrs and righteous, Discourse v. Moreover, what he writes about free-will in the Epistle to Quirinus, about the same subject, and the primacy of Peter;³ and on the meaning of the word water, which everywhere, with him, signifies in Holy Scripture, baptism;⁴ also respecting the admixture of the holy cup with water, which he affirms Christ to have appointed at the supper.⁵

"I determined with myself, as soon as I should have leisure, to read Origen for the sake of his antiquity, but I have now changed my mind because you have made no mention of him in your letter to me. Wherefore I shall substitute in his place some work of Augustine, or perhaps Jerome upon the prophets, only that this is contrary to your judgment. I once heard Master Capito, in a lecture on Isaiah, severely censure him, and say that Jerome was good for nothing except as a rhetorician. I had not believed this before, but he seemed to have his reasons for thus finding fault with him.

gentes quæ tunc erunt sub ditione justorum concitabit, ut inferant bellum sanctæ civitate; et colligetur ex omni orbe terræ innumerabilis populus nationum et obsidebit, et circumdabit civitatem. . . . Populus autem Dei tribus illis diebus sub concavis terræ occultabitur.—*Ibid.* vii. 27.

¹ The following passage may perhaps be referred to among others. *Nec haberet, quid fragilitatis humanæ infirmitas atque imbecilitas faceret, nisi iterum pietas divina subveniens, justitiæ et misericordiæ operibus ostensis, viam quandam tuendæ salutis aperiret; ut sordes postmodum quascunque contrahimus, eleemosynis albuamus.*—*De Oper. et Eleemos.* See the second part of the Homily of Alms-deeds, where Cyprian's doctrine is explained.

² *Aliud pro peccatis longo dolore cruciatum emundari, et purgari diu igne aliud peccata omnia passione purgasse.* Lib. iv. Ep. 2 *Erasm.*

³ See the treatise *De Unit. Eccles.* pp. 106, &c. Oxon. 1682, with Fell's notes upon the passages.

⁴ *Quotiescunque autem aqua sola in scripturis sanctis nominatur, baptisma prædicatur.* Lib. ii. Ep. 3.

⁵ *Calix Domini non est aqua sola, aut vinum solum, nisi utrumque sibi misceatur.*—*Ibid.* The remaining references in this paragraph are too long for quotation.

“If at any time you deign to write to me again, advise me, I pray, as to the best means of retaining in memory what I have once read. Hitherto I have been accustomed to collect into one book the heads of many common-places and sentences; but this is troublesome to me, as I am a very slow writer. Moreover, sir, I want your books on the authority of Scripture, on the office of bishops, and on the origin of error; and all of them, if it shall seem good to you, bound together. I pray you also to send at the same time with these books the bible of Leo Judæ,¹ if it is yet completed, or as soon after as you may meet with a fit opportunity”—A sentence showing that the correspondence was not between scholars where each received equal benefit.

In the outset of the correspondence the tone of Hilles' letters was that of discouragement to its continuance, for in May, 1542, he begged that the honour might be transferred to some one else:—

“You cannot, without danger to my affairs, write me anything concerning the Christian religion: besides if you could, I am not worthy of such honour. I have therefore to return many thanks to your benevolence for your favourable inclination towards me; and I pray you to confer this honour upon some one else who may be worthy of it.

“ After having read over again this barbarous letter of mine I was so ashamed of it, that I was almost determined to tear it, and not write to you at all; and I certainly should have done so, had you not invited me to write to you upon the state of all our affairs.

“And now, my most esteemed master, farewell in Christ: for in future I have no intention of writing to you again, except, perhaps, by some amanuensis when necessity obliges me.”

During its continuance many letters received by Hilles were dealt with by one letter in reply, so that unless Bullinger had been a very earnest man, he would have taken offence; but thorough sympathy with the English Reformers was the keynote to his character, as the exiled congregation at Arau thus describe it:—

“Your motives for having thus acted we can admire as well as account for. For we are almost all of us unknown to you, and

¹ Leo Judæ was minister of Zurich, where he undertook the translation of the old Testament, but died June 9th, 1542, before the completion of the work, leaving unfinished Job, the last forty Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the last eight chapters of Ezekiel, which were translated by Theodore Bibliander. The entire work was edited by Conrad Pellican.

have no means of returning the obligation." And acknowledging some of his writings dedicated and sent to them, they continue :—

"But herein appears your zeal for the Lord's household, in that you not only diligently feed the flock over which the Lord has placed you, and instruct all other churches by your learned commentaries; but also this our exile in which we are deserted by our friends, laughed to scorn by many, spurned by others, assailed by reproaches and revilings by the most, you alleviate by your learned discourses, that we may not sink under the pressure of these evils; and like a good shepherd, you tend, strengthen, and cheer us all in our dispersion. We accept therefore your princely gift, and embrace it with the feeling we ought; and in return send you what alone we can do, namely, our thanks, our affectionate regard, and a frequent mention of you our master in our prayers."

But the correspondence shows Hilles as a man entitled to the respect if not the affection of Bullinger, for he was earnest in religion, generous in charity, intelligent in English affairs (religious and political), and trusted by his friends, characteristics made apparent by a study of his letters.

At present we shall confine our attention to the seventeen letters written to Bullinger during the years of Hilles' absence from England, viz., from 1540 to the death of Henry VIII, and gather up the materials for a scant history of his life during this period.

In his first letter he tells us the reasons for his leaving England:—

"That you may know the state of my affairs, it is as follows. When I perceived that there was no place left for me in England, unless, as Ustazades¹ replied to the King of Persia, I chose to become a traitor both to God and man; I forthwith left the country, but on the pretext of carrying on my trade in this place. This motive however is known by all my godly acquaintance to be a false one, and also suspected to be such by my ungodly adversaries. But as I have not been indicted for heresy, or summoned before the courts of law, all my property yonder is at present tolerably safe; so that I remit to England at every fair, for the purpose of importing a fresh supply of cloth, the money

¹ See *Historia Tripartita*, Lib. III. cap. ii. p. 325-6 of *Auctores Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, Basil. 1533. Also, Pilkington's Works, Park. Soc. Ed. p. 637.

that I receive both here and at Frankfort. I have mentioned this with the view of making you acquainted with my affairs, lest, in case you should hear any report of my voluntary exile in these parts, the account of my troubles in England should fail of being noticed. Meanwhile, I freely confess to you (although it would not be safe for me to make the same acknowledgment to every one) that I have determined not to return thither, unless it should first please God to effect such a change, as that we may serve Him there without hinderance, and without being forced to sanction what is evil. My wife, thank God, makes provision for our comfort here quite as well, or indeed better than myself. Although, by God's help, I do not doubt of my perseverance even unto the end, I entreat you to pray the Lord for us, that He which hath begun a good work in us may perform it until the day of Christ."

"I should have given my letter to Butler, if he had been at home, or to some other Englishman in this place, to be put into better Latin, only that I am not willing for them to know (though I do not distrust them) that I have communicated so many things to all of you together; lest probably when they are writing to England, they may, with a good intention, acquaint some godly person or other, who, without sufficient caution, as frequently happens, will. . . ."¹

At a later date he writes:—

" I have no domestics, except one female servant. I have left them all but one in England; for I have still an establishment in that country, such as it is. I only brought one servant with me from England."

What mercantile connections he then had with Europe are not apparent; but it seems that he availed himself of Bullinger's help to establish these with his co-religionists.

"I thank you much for the information you gave me respecting Falckner, and I request that if there are any other pious and God-fearing men yonder, who are in the habit of purchasing English cloth, you will let me know their names that should they at any time wish to obtain some cloth from me upon credit I may let them have it. For I do not feel disposed to credit any persons with any large sum except the people of Zurich, and a few, it may be, at Schaffhausen; wherefore, if you will do me this favour, I shall be much obliged."

So again he thanks him for other introductions to new

¹ The remainder of this sentence is altogether unintelligible.

customers, and apologises for his wife's apparent mistrust of these:—

“I am glad that you have commended to me by letter Peter Hurtzel and especially Andrew Rappenstein; and if my wife had known as much at the last fair, she would not have required C. Froschover to be surety for them. I beg, however, that they will not be offended at what my wife did in this business; for she had never seen them before, nor, as I remember, had ever heard them commended by me as they deserve. Those two honest men dealt honourably with me at Frankfort at the preceding fair; for they owed me at that time about one hundred and thirty-three florins, all of which, save three, they sent me by Master Conrad Eblie.”

His trade, according to the experience of present times, was on a small scale, but carried out with industry and frugality. He had a trade mark (×) as a security to his customers, and he soon became immersed in work:—

“I confess that I am engaged in various and perhaps too many occupations; but, except at the Frankfort fairs I am seldom absent from home, and hence it is, that I apply myself to the reading of Scripture less frequently than I could wish; because, having no servant, I transact almost all my business myself, especially here in Strasburgh, and I am almost always engaged in correspondence settling my accounts and things of the like nature. Yet last winter, by God's blessing, I read the whole of the Holy Bible which you gave me, besides the New Testament, with as much attention as I was able. From this sacred reading, if I have derived no other advantage I have at least learned this, that when the prophets, according to this your translation, intended to describe a knave or impostor, they called him a merchant.¹ I learn from hence, as you also say, what a dangerous and slippery thing is trade in which occupation I may fall very soon, and I wish I may not have fallen very frequently.”

And again when Bullinger had admonished him against being too much engrossed in worldly affairs he writes confessing “as so necessary to me”:

“... who am employed in so dangerous a calling (if indeed trade can be so called, as the world now conducts it), that if there were nothing else that might seem to require an answer, I ought at least to have returned you long since, on account of that letter

¹ See Hosea xii, 7.

the thanks due to your kindness and Christian love. But O unhappy me! who am so overwhelmed with worldly business as thus to neglect my duty to my father and spiritual and godly physician. I therefore entreat you, my master, honoured in the Lord, that you will deign to persevere in praying for me (as I collect from all your later letters that you do) to the Lord Jesus Christ, that the thorns of riches may not so pierce me, as to call away my attention from the study of godliness and meditation upon heavenly things: our life is indeed, as you say, short upon earth, and we die daily. These things I have always before my eyes, whether at leisure or engaged in business, eating and drinking, yea, even in my dreams when I am asleep. May the great and good God grant (and I hope he will grant it the sooner for your prayers) that I may not bear these things in mind, or in a manner desire death, because it is said to put an end to the cares and anxieties of this life (by which we are continually harassed in heaping up and preserving riches), rather than because I desire with the apostle to be dissolved and to be with Christ. Thus in me the flesh oftentimes seeketh its own, and not only the glory and life of Christ. But I have not now leisure to write to you upon this subject as fully as I could wish."

While in a later letter of apology he writes:—"I pray you not to be displeased, for I have scarce leisure to reply forthwith to the letters of all my correspondents without great inconvenience to myself."

His capital was probably not a large one, nor was it only employed by him in the cloth trade. Falckner and Hurtzel not paying for the cloth which they purchased from him so promptly as Hilles had expected them to do, he wrote thus:—

"Tell them, that such is the state of lower Germany, that I scarcely think any English cloth will arrive at Frankfort at the next fair, by reason of the war between the emperor and the duke of Guelderland. Wherefore, I pray both of them to pay the money that they owe me (although it is but a small sum) either to myself, or my wife (in case of my absence), here at Strasburgh; or else to provide for the payment of it through some citizen of Zurich. For I am now in great want of it, especially during Lent, because I have neither cloth nor money with me. For all the money which I could scrape together from my friends in every quarter, I have sent to my friends in England to lay out in cloth."

So in accepting Bullinger's request to advance money for a youth's tabling or dining, he adds:—

"Yet, as his father is a man of property, I think it will be no loss to him to pay down the sum beforehand. For in truth I scarcely ever keep any money by me for a week together, but lay it out forthwith in merchandise. Do not, I pray, be offended at my writing to you with such freedom; for I am only pointing out to your reverence the state of my affairs, as to the employment of money. Meanwhile, however, I will by no means refuse to lay down the sum here, before I receive it from you."

The largest amount of capital mentioned by Hilles and his employment of it in other wares are thus referred to:

"If I were solely intent upon gain, I could make more money by a thousand florins employed upon other wares, especially in this time of war, than I can by two thousand florins laid out upon cloth. But I always have in mind what the apostle says, 1 Tim. vi. 17, respecting those who desire to be rich in this world."

His principal market seemed to be the annual Frankfort Festival, but in 1542 he visited Venice, and, as a consequence, in later years he frequently sent relief to the Italian exiles.

Looking at Richard Hilles in his practice of benevolence, we shall find that almsgiving was not an occasional act, but the habit of his life, while the temper in which his charity was exercised will be seen in the following letters:—

He first makes request to Bullinger:

"I pray you to dispose of whatever cloth he¹ may leave to some one else, and lay out the amount this year for the benefit of the poor (if you have among you any who are exiles for the gospel's sake). If you decline doing this, by reason of not having among you exiles of this description (and I admit no other claim), I then wish you to make over the same sum to Master Calvin for the same object."

Not having heard of these having been relieved, he writes:

"I entreat you, my master, that we no longer defer the appropriation of that money, which I have destined out of the produce of this same cloth, for the use of the poor exiles, namely, half the price of the same, or, if you choose, the whole of it. For I have already given Master Calvin some money for the like purpose, although I mentioned not a word to him about you or that cloth, and never intend to do. Distribute therefore, what I have desired of my own free will to be applied to the poor by your instrumentality; whether you choose to retain either the price of half the cloth, or, if need so require, of the whole. For the more I

¹ *i.e.*, Falckner.

devote to them through you, so much the less do I leave to be applied to the like object by myself. Whatever I do in this matter, I do it voluntarily and cheerfully, and without a murmur. I therefore pray you, that, whether you determine to retain half the sum, if you prefer it, or the whole sum, as I prefer myself, you will let me know by letter at our next fair."

Another expression of the same generous feeling is found in a later letter:

"God has lately taken away from me, by two or three debtors who (as I hear from England) have become bankrupts, and by other casualties, about two hundred florins, perhaps so much the sooner because I am not there myself to manage my affairs. But let this be told to a stone wall. Besides, I have promised, within this month, to afford yearly (if God do not take everything away from me) a certain sum of money to some strangers, who, having been lately banished from their country for Christ's sake, have come hither; so that I cannot now afford you so much for the poor exiles as I would have done most cordially, had you desired me. Nevertheless, cease not, I pray you, to remind me of my duty, and you shall find me ready according to my power. For I know that you will not ask me to aid the poor out of my necessity, but of my abundance. And I know what Paul requires of the rich in 1 Tim. vi. and what Christ requires every where. But the flesh, forgetful of divine and heavenly things, and covetous and tenacious of earthly things, cannot be too often reminded of its duty. Write to me therefore freely, whatever you will, because it may be profitable also to others. And I hope that I shall bear your exhortation and warning as it becomes me to do. Farewell in Christ Jesus, and live happily in God; and love your Richard as you are wont to do."

What need be said of the religious faith of such a man, after his letters have given an accurate epitome of his life, and laid bare the influencing motive of all his actions? That he should live steadfastly in the faith was Bullinger's ever recurring advice, which was so cordially welcomed by Hilles, thus:—

"I heartily thank you for your letters; and especially because you thought fit therein to afford me such true and godly consolation from the Holy Scriptures, and so diligently to exhort me to patience and longsuffering, in which graces I am greatly deficient. In the next place I have received from your letter, by God's blessing, this great benefit, namely, that I have considered and deliberated much more carefully and discreetly than before, what it is to leave one's first love, and how unbecoming it is for a Christian to return

to his vomit; and how fearful a thing it is for any one to fall into the hands of the living God! Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort, who has doubtless oftentimes comforted you in your tribulation and distress, that you may thereby be more able to comfort them which are in any trouble!"

In Hilles' belief the course of human affairs, like man's individual life, was mainly influenced by Divine providence. Thus, the terrible times which made him an exile were not, in his view, the result of a political accident—but God's judgment on a stiff-necked people:

"Our sins have doubtless deserved this change in our affairs, because, when God sent forth His Word amongst us, it was not regarded by us as the Word of God, nor were we sufficiently thankful to its author; but we have been dreaming that it was understood by our own strength and ability, and have constantly ascribed its success to the conduct of some, and the learning of others, while we fancied that God was all the while asleep and inactive. Wherefore the Lord, purposing gradually, but not all at once, to manifest His mercy towards us, as well as His power in the general course of His providence, has taken away, together with purity of doctrine, those individuals also upon whose wisdom we so much depended for support; willing that His providence should herein be shown forth, by frustrating and destroying our expectations from men, and our boasting that interfered with His glory; and manifesting too His mercy, by permitting these things to be gradually taken away, together with those persons in whom we trusted; and this, that, being so often deceived in our expectations from the creature, we might place all our confidence in Him alone, and acknowledge him as the continual agent, as well as the original source, of all grace and goodness. This long suffering of God, so tempered with instruction, ought to have worked repentance in us, unless we had been a stiff-necked people. But such was the wretchedness of our condition, that we did not consider it was the Lord's teaching; but as soon as he had destroyed the hopes we had reposed in one individual, we raised up to ourselves another in whom we placed our confidence; until at last God has taken them all away from us, and has inflicted upon us such a want of sincere ministers of the word, that a man may now travel from the east of England to the west, and from the north to the south, without being able to discover a single preacher, who out of a pure heart and faith unfeigned, is seeking the glory of our God."

When men measured their words by the penalty of their lives, how abhorrent to Hilles must have been the tyranny of Henry VIII to provoke him to pen these sentences :

“Those two bishops, Latimer and Shaxton, were a long time under restraint, because they would never give their sanction to the statute published against the truth in the year 1539, as the other Eceholian bishops did at once. But how favourable to them the King now is, and how much he appreciates their sound and pure doctrine, is evident even from this, that he has not only prohibited them from preaching, but also from coming within two or three German miles of our two universities, the city of London, or their own dioceses ! O atrocious deed, thus to drive away faithful shepherds from their flocks, and intrude ravenous wolves in their stead ! God will not, I hope, allow this tyranny much longer. Meanwhile, you perceive how much iniquity abounds among us, and therefore that in many respects charity is growing cold. Farewell in the Lord ! May our good and gracious God long preserve you in safety to us, and for the edification and comfort of His church ! Amen, Amen.

To repeat the incidents of English politics given in Hilles' letters to satisfy the reader of his accurate knowledge would be tedious ; but those who desire to be satisfied on this head should refer to his long letter from London in 1541, wherein he reviews the results of the legislation of 1539, and of the executive acts of the Crown, for this letter is (we think) conclusive evidence not only that he had the best channels of intelligence open to him, but that he had the skill to use them for the information and guidance of his friends. While he was abroad the principal events came to his knowledge and were circulated amongst his fellow exiles and communicated to Bullinger.

“Richard Hilles the Englishman ” as some, or “Richard ” only, as others styled him, was known to the Reformers in England and Germany as a trusted friend. When Archbishop Cranmer invited Bucer to visit England (to take the Professor's chair at Cambridge) he referred him for advice to Hilles : “*Est istii mercator quidam Anglus Richard Hilles ver pius et summa fidelitate præditus cum quo de tota itineris ratione te conferre velim.*” Bishop Coverdale styles him (with another) “those very eminent persons ;” and it is certain that in later life he became an accepted channel of communication for his co-religionists on either side of the English Channel.

Hilles' succour to “Master John Hoper ” is thus referred to :

"If there is any news here, or from England, you will learn it by the letter of a certain countryman of mine who is studying here, whose name is John Hoper, formerly in the court of our king, but now a disciple of Christ, the King of kings, and glowing with zeal and piety, and most attached to your name among those of all other divines. He was sick at my house, almost unto death; and when, to all appearance he was on the point of departure, he uttered the language and profession of a most godly christian breast respecting the matter of the eucharist, and all the articles of the christian faith, before many by-standers. May the great and good God give him grace to persevere unto the end, that he may be saved! Amen."

But the close of his exile was near at hand, for the life of Henry VIII was running to its ebb.

During the reign "huge multitudes between one religion and another"¹ were executed, for the Roman and Anglican were placed on an equal footing in respect of capital punishment; to admit the Papal supremacy was treason, and to reject the Papal creed was heresy; the one could only be expiated by the halter and knife; the other by the fagot and the stake. On the 30th July, 1540, when Powel and two others for denying the King's supremacy and Barnes and two others for heresy were executed in Smithfield, they were brought thither on the same hurdles, and while the former were hanged and quartered as traitors, the latter were consumed in the flames as heretics² by the Sheriffs of London.

The news of Henry's death and that Edward VI had been proclaimed King from 28th January, and publicly crowned, reached Hilles in February, 1547. Happier times were at hand, and he must see for himself by visiting England whether he could safely return there. Accordingly he went over in 1548, and afterwards resolved that his family should be brought back. Writing in June he says:—

"It is most certain, God willing, that I intend to return to England with my wife and children at the next Frankfort autumn fair. I thank you for your friendly prayers, that God may prosper our journey."

But his business was too valuable to be left without the personal care of a principal, and therefore he placed his friend John Burcher in charge of it.

"Our common friend, John Burcher, will most readily forward my letters. For we have agreed to carry on our business in

¹ Lord Herbert's *Henry VIII*, page 267.

² 5 Lingard's *England*, page 149; 5 Foxe, pages 430-8.

partnership for two or three years, or even longer, should it seem expedient; and on this account he has purchased a convenient residence in this town, which he will begin to occupy as soon as he shall have returned from the next Frankfort fair."

This done, he departed from Strasburg, for it was needful for him to get a change of diet and of climate. He writes:—

"For Germany did not very well agree with me, as the air was unfavourable, nay, even most inimical to my constitution, and the mode of living and wine of that country, and especially the stoves in winter, suited me but little better."

While absent in Germany the work of destruction had proceeded. The order of St. John of Jerusalem was dissolved¹ and their estates seized; their church in Clerkenwell, where the Yeomen Taylors held their Decollation Festival, being dismantled. The chauntries and obits kept by the Guilds were also abolished, and the rents used by the King for war expenses.² London presented a somewhat ruinous aspect. "The city is much disfigured (wrote the Venetian Ambassador in 1554) by the ruins of a multitude of churches and monasteries belonging heretofore to friars and nuns."³

But another version must be given of Henry's proceedings. In May, 1541, a proclamation for setting up the Bible in churches was issued, though practically recalled by the 34 and 35 Henry VIII, cap. 1. In 1543 the King's book; in 1544 a Litany, somewhat as we now have, and in 1545 a Book of Prayers were issued in English for the use of the laity, so that some progress on the lines of the Reformation was made.

In the interval between his admission as a freeman in 1535 and his departure for Germany in 1539, Hilles must have made some friends amongst his fellow guildsmen, who would gladly welcome his return. His old master, Nicholas Cosyns, was a rising man, who having served as Warden, was to be elected to the mastership in a time of sore trouble, 1549, as the Chauntries Collegiate Act was being used against the Company.⁴ Although Hilles was not in a position to offer advice as an Assistant, yet at that date any member had a chance of being heard in the assembly of his Guild, but his wisdom and experience soon found expression in the Common Council of the Corporation, or in other words, the Parliament of the citizens.

¹ 32 Henry VIII, cap. 24, and Part I, page 63, *note*. ² Part I, page 138, *et seq.*

³ Vol. 5, page 543, Venetian Papers.

⁴ Part I, pages 143-8.

CHAPTER IX.

HILLES' RETURN HOME.

Return to England, p. 88.—Residence in the Vintry, p. 88.—“Three Cranes” landing, p. 89.—Legislation of Edward VI, p. 90.—Letters to Bullinger, p. 90.—Chauntries Collegiate Act, p. 91.—Common prayer, p. 91.—Coverdale, p. 92.—Hilles’ position towards co-religionists, p. 92.—Reformation prospects, p. 92.—Bishop Hooper, p. 93.—Bucer’s death, p. 94.—Wife’s illness, p. 94.—Membership in the Merchant Taylors, p. 94.—Hilles member of the Common Council, p. 95.—Cloth trade, p. 96.—Frauds, p. 96.—Legislation, p. 96.—Act to naturalise his children, p. 97.

HILLES reached England in safety, but with shattered health ; and in June, 1549, from London, he thus writes of himself :—

“ . . . since my return to England, especially from the month of February, my strength seems to be exhausted, so that I have hardly any energy left me. Wherefore, unless God should restore my health, of which there is no sign, I shall from henceforth write to you much less frequently than I have done these two years, and principally, because I am not in the habit of writing Latin (which is a most troublesome business to me) to any but yourself.”

In what London parish he took up his residence is not disclosed on the correspondence. Having lived on the bridge as a boy, and in declining years in one of the Company’s houses at the Quadrant in the Vintry, it is not improbable that he resided in this parish or its neighbourhood.

The Vintry of that day was a place of great resort, for the “Three Cranes”¹ (lying adjacent to the Company’s estates, given to them by Lady K. Pemberton in 1508, and Thomas Speight in 1527) was the landing place of those going between the Tower and Westminster, who, to avoid the shoot of water through the bridge, would land or embark as the case might be, and traversing the river bank passed London Bridge on horseback or on foot. As an illustration of this, read Cavendish’s description of

¹ Southwark Bridge stands on the site, and much of the Merchant Taylors Company’s estate was taken for it.

Cardinal Wolsey's progress to Greenwich:—"He used every Sunday to resort to the court at Greenwich, taking his barge at his own stairs [at Whitehall], furnished with yeomen standing upon the bagles, and his gentlemen within the boat, and landed againe at *The Three Cranes in the Vintree*; and from thence he rode upon his mule with his crosses, his pillers, his hat, and the broad seale—(he was then Lord Chancellor)—carried before him on horseback, thro' Thames Street until he came to Billingsgate, and there took his barge again and so rowed to Greenwich."

But a more notable visitor during Hilles' residence in the Vintry used *The Three Cranes* to embark for Westminster—which was Queen Mary—who on the 1st February, 1554, came by horse from St. James's to Guildhall, and after addressing an oration to Sir Thomas White and his fellow citizens to rally to her aid against Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Kentish rebels, she proceeded to *The Three Cranes* and embarked for Whitehall. This is Machyn's description¹ of the event.

"And a-bowt iij of the cloke at after-non the Quen(s) grace cam rydyng from Westmynster unto yeld-hall with mony lordes, knyghts and lades, and bysshopes and haroldes of armes, and trompeturs blohyng and all the gard in harnes. [Then she declared, in an oration² to the mayor and the city, and to her council, her mind concerning her marriage, that she never intended to marry out of her realm but by her council's consent and advice; and that she would never marry but all her true] sogettes shall be content, [or else she would live] as her grace has don hederto. [But that her gr]ace wyll call a parlement [as] shortely as [may be, and] as thay shall fynd, and that [the earl of] Penbroke shall be cheyffe capten and generall agaynst ser Thomas Wyatt and ys felons in the [field,] that my lord admerall for to be sosyatt with the [lord mayor] to kepe the cete from all commars therto. [After this] the Quen(s) grace came from yeld-hall and rod to the iij cranes in the vyntre, and toke her barge [to] Westmynster to her own place the sam day."

But to revert to one or two subjects which it is necessary to explain to make Hilles' life intelligible.

The friends of the Reformation were in power during the reign

¹ "Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor from 1550-63, by Nichol, Camden Society, 1848." He was admitted to the freedom in 1530, and was not of the Livery, so far as is yet known.

² Page 122, *post*.

of Edward, and having thrown off the sovereignty of Rome, proceeded to establish the National Church upon the widest basis of Catholic truth, desiring to comprehend, so far as it was possible, all reasonable men within its fold.

The first statute of Edward's reign was passed in 1547, to establish and set forth a form for the administration of the Communion in the English Church and to protect the doctrine involved in it from being despised or reviled by contemptuous words.

Accordingly on the 8th March, 1548, there issued a Royal proclamation requiring the administration of the Sacrament in the form and manner therein set forth, being "The Order of Communion," which remained in force until the Book of Common Prayer was established.

Upon this Hilles writes thus to Bullinger:—

"... we have an uniform celebration of the Eucharist throughout the whole Kingdom, but after the manner of the Nuremberg Churches and some of those in Saxony; for they do not yet feel inclined to adopt your rites respecting the administration of the Sacraments. Nor do I doubt but that Master M. B. [Martin Bucer] and the other learned men from Germany and Italy (who are here with the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury, and are lecturing in the universities of this country), teach, nay, exhort and persuade, that there is no occasion for it, and perhaps even that it is not becoming. Thus our bishops and governors seem, for the present at least, to be acting rightly; while, for the preservation of the public peace, they afford no cause of offence to the Lutherans, pay attention to your very learned German divines, submit their judgment to them, and also retain some Popish ceremonies."

As the English Church was the offspring of free enquiry, the next measure adopted by Edward's Counsellors was the removal from the Statute book of those barbarous laws (before adverted to) passed against the Lollards, and by their removal to give permission and encouragement to the free discussion of religious subjects. Therefore (by chapter 2) the laws for the punishment of heretics and Lollards, together with the two Acts for the Six Articles, "and all and every other Act concerning doctrine or matters of religion" were absolutely repealed and made utterly void; and that Act which gave the King's Proclamation the force of law, and prohibited the King's subjects from leaving the realm was also repealed.

Hilles, therefore, if so disposed, was now at liberty to open his

mind on religious subjects to Bullinger, or any other friend without the fear of the "Bishop's Prison."

The same session produced the "Chauntries Collegiate Act," which for many years afterwards was and even now is a source of grievance and complaint against the London Livery Companies.¹ Hilles must have been familiar with its effects and possibly may have known whether those who promoted its passing really intended (as the preamble sets forth) to assert and uphold the great Christian doctrine "of the true and perfect salvation by the blood of Christ," and by abolishing masses for the dead, and transferring all the rents devised to the Merchant Taylors and other companies for these uses to the King that he should with these rents "establish grammar schools," "augment the universities," and "provide for the poor and needy," or whether the whole statement was a religious fraud.

The next object taken in hand was to establish "uniformity of service," for hitherto several "uses," as of Sarum, York, Bangor, and London (even St. Paul's is thought to have had one) prevailed; and it was at the option of each bishop, if not of each rector, to adopt, one or other of these "uses" for public worship in his diocese or church. This was thought to be an evil, and therefore a Commission, consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other learned divines, was appointed by the King, to draw up "a Book of Common Prayer," which, with the administration of the Communion, commonly called "the Mass," was afterwards put forth. This first Prayer Book of the reign was accepted and established by the authority of the 2nd and 3rd Edward VI, chapter 1, and was in the English tongue, with liberty for those, especially in the universities, who understood Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, to use these languages (the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass, excepted) but all other persons were to use the English Prayer Book.²

Uniformity would not have been secured if all other books used for the service of the Church had not been abolished; therefore, in the next session (1549) all books, antiphones, missals, and other works enumerated, before used for the service of the Church, were absolutely abolished and forbidden. Under the same statute (3rd and 4th Edward VI, chapter 10), all these books or any images

¹ Part I, page 146, *ante*.

² See "The Two Liturgies, &c.," published by the "Parker Society," Cambridge University Press, 1844.

removed from or still retained in any church were to be defaced and destroyed, the images being given over to the civil authorities to be burnt, under pecuniary penalties for the first and second, and imprisonment for the third offences.

It is scarcely necessary to pursue further the course of ecclesiastical legislation during Edward's reign to understand Hilles' personal history, but the change of policy in Church affairs enabled Coverdale and Hooper, with whom his intimacy continued until the death of one and the martyrdom of the other, to return home; indeed, the account books of the Company show Coverdale's return by the entry of payments made for 1548-9:

"To John Angell, clerk, for singing the service of the Communion on the Feast day [of St. John Baptist], 11s.

"To Mr. Coverdale for making a sermon the said day, 6s. 8d." and in June, 1549, Hilles writes to Bullinger, "I believe Master John Hoper will *there* present me with the two decades of your sermons in your name."

After his return Hilles became from the force of circumstances the medium of communication between the foreign Protestants and the English Prelates, but, although brought into some kind of intercourse with Cranmer, he appears to have had no intimacy with him. Thus in June, 1549, he writes:—

"I can make no answer to your letter written November 9, 1548, because you therein desire me to let you know, if possible, how the Archbishop of Canterbury received your letter and your book. For I have no such familiarity or intercourse with him, or with persons of his rank and authority, as to be acquainted with such matters; and I therefore pray you not to take it ill that I have not, during this whole year, given you any information on the subject."

On the general prospects of the Reformation he writes hopefully. After acknowledging Bullinger's third decade, he continues:—

"I am especially anxious to read what you have written respecting trade. As I know you rejoice in the prosperity of England, I can assure you that never before in our time has there been such hope of the advancement of the pure doctrine of the gospel, and of the complete subversion and rooting up of anti-christian ceremonies and traditions; so that we are daily expecting some Balaams to preach the truth and bless the people of God. And it is reported that the Bishop of Winchester will shortly be discharged from the Tower of London, where he has been detained

for his obstinacy these two or three years, and will publicly assert the pure doctrine of Christ; with what mind, God knows, probably an unwilling one. But, however this may be, we are all of us who favour the gospel rejoicing in the meantime that Christ Jesus will be plainly preached."

Their mutual friend, "Master John Hoper," had received his nomination to the Bishoprick of Gloucester, which Hilles refers to:—

"In what state are the affairs of Master Hoper, who two months since was nominated by the King's Majesty to the Bishoprick of Gloucester, you will doubtless learn from his own letters. He perseveres by the grace of God, to be a most constant asserter of the gospel; and he preaches everywhere with the greatest freedom agreeably to your orthodox doctrine in the matter of the eucharist. He exhorts, yea, he persuades all. For our people, as many as sincerely love the truth, have been always inclined to that opinion respecting the eucharist."

But troubles arose respecting Hooper's consecration from his refusal to wear the vestments appointed by due authority to be worn; Cranmer and Ridley argued against the soundness of his scruples, while Bucer and Peter Martyr advised conformity, however, he still refused to obey, and thereupon (according to the discipline of those times) Hooper was sent to the Fleet Prison until he conformed himself to the law and received consecration.¹

In March, 1551, Hilles writes:—

"As you so much desire me to write you a full statement of his, namely, Master John Hoper's condition, I reply that I have nothing to make known to your piety respecting his troubles, beyond what I wrote on the first of last February to our common friend, Master John Butler, and which I have no doubt but that he has before now made you acquainted with. But now, thanks to God! this same Master Hoper is discharged from custody, and restored to his former condition. Previously, however, he yielded up his opinion and judgment upon certain points which are here regarded by us as matters of indifference. And this Lent, habited in the scarlet episcopal gown, after he had been initiated or consecrated after the manner of our bishops, he preached before the King's Majesty; many of the [bystanders] either approving or condemning his dress just as they were guided by their feelings.

¹ See Hooper's letters to Sir W. Cecil after the visitation of his diocese.—Hatfield House Papers, Part I (1883), pages 107 and 125.

Master Hoper is now gone to Gloucester, which is the seat of his bishoprick : but, as I hear, he will shortly return."

In the same year promotion was given to Coverdale, who was made the Bishop of Exeter ; but the church sustained the loss of Bucer, who died in March. His widow had a passage to return to Strasburg, for herself and eight persons granted to her, and the money she appeared to possess, which was (246*l.* 2*s.*) was remitted to Germany by Richard Hilles.

Of Hilles' domestic life we have but few incidents to relate. Some months after his return we find him writing to Bullinger of his wife's illness :—

"I gave your very kind salutation to my wife, who salutes your piety in return, and most cordially desires your advancement in sacred learning, to the glory of God and the edification of the Church. She has been afflicted with severe illness ever since the month of August, so that for a long time we all of us despaired of her life. But the Lord liveth who bringeth down and raiseth up ; and He has now afforded her a little respite, so that we have begun to cherish some hopes of her, that she will shortly be better, and at length be restored to health. To this end I pray you and all your fellow-ministers and brethren yonder earnestly to entreat the Lord. She was first afflicted for a long time by a *suffocatio matricis*, and then by fainting fits, which lasted occasionally for a whole week ; and lastly, she is severely suffering with a quartan fever up to this very day."

Not that illness resulted from her place of residence. The city was then the centre of all the social as well as the political life of England ; the residence of the Sovereign in the Tower, and of all the nobility within the city area, or immediately adjacent, gave to the citizens in their individual and corporate life an importance to which we are strangers in these days.

Hilles' membership of the Merchant Taylors Company was an introduction, not only to the distinguished citizens then sitting upon the Court, but to others who were visitors within its hospitable hall ; for a man of such varied experience as Hilles possessed could not fail to attract to himself the notice, if not the friendship, of many of these men.

The first to welcome his return must have been his old friend "Nicholas Cosyn," who as Master of the Company (1549–50) could give him the most favourable introduction to its members. No one could better appreciate the strength and value of Hilles'

character than the man who had known him from early youth, and seen his earnest search after religious truth.

Those to whom he was thus introduced were not mere cyphers in civic life. Sir Thomas White, had recently been Sheriff (1547); Sir H. Hubbathorne, the first knight created by Edward VI, had been Lord Mayor at his coronation. The Offleys were men of growing importance; the accomplished Emanuel Lucar was to act as a juror upon an important State trial and to suffer for it; Sir W. Harper, the founder of Bedford School, who joined the Company two years before Hilles, was to fill the office of Lord Mayor in the same year (1561) in which Hilles was to be Master of the Company.

Hilles was called to the Livery in 1549-50, and it was in 1549 that the New Book of Common Prayer was issued for the use of English Churchmen. When, therefore, he attended St. Martin's according to the ordinances or custom of the Company with his brother Liverymen on St. John Baptist's Day after his election¹ he must have noted (as many others must have done) that a special Collect (before wanting) for St John's Day had been added by the Reformers,² thereby emphatically marking the characteristics of their patron saint so that at their annual festival they would pray "to follow his doctrine and holy life," and "after his example constantly speak the truth boldly, rebuké vice, and patiently suffer for the truth's sake," a fact of no inconsiderable importance in estimating the characters of the Guildsmen of that period.

We know that Hilles became at some period of his life a member of the Common Council of London, and from his intimacy with Sir George Barnes, the Lord Mayor of 1553, and his connection with the greater political events then happening, we may presume that his election to the Corporation had taken place. However, he soon became a man well known in London and in May, 1552, we find Hilles commended to the notice of Sir W. Cecil, the Secretary of State, in a postscript as "*per R. H. mercatorem vestratem recte curababis*"; and again in January, 1553, to the same correspondent, "*R. H. mercatori Londinensi qui vobiscum aliquando habtavit licebit dare quicquid mihi debitur.*"³

But to advert to business affairs: the clothing trade was at this

¹ Page 48, *ante*.

² The Epistle and Gospel now in use were continued from the Roman "Lectionary," but the "Sacramentary" contained no Collect for St. John Baptist's Day. Vol. 1, Palmer's Orig. Litur., page 390. The Collect first appears in Edward VI's Prayer Book of 1549.

³ Strype's Cranmer, Vol. II, pages 1007-13.

period (1552) a most important industry, giving rise to controversies between the Taylors and Clothworkers¹ and the making was spread over the whole Kingdom.² Broadcloth in Kent, Sussex, and the town of Reading: white cloths in Worcester and Coventry; coloured long cloth in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex; whites and reds in Wilts, Gloucester, and Somerset; kersies in Devon and elsewhere; Taunton and Bridgewater had each cloths after the their names; friezes and cottons were made in Wales and especially in Cardigan, Carmarthen, and Pembroke; Manchester, Lancashire, and Cheshire each had cottons, and Manchester had rugs. This trade so absorbed the industry of the people that the young King in the same year entered in his note book³ the necessity that existed "to bring more arts into the realm so that all may not stand by clothing."

But fraud was creeping in⁴ and the national character for excellence was being undermined by dishonesty. The King's arms and initial were often woven into inferior articles, and these were presented to the King's "Alnager"⁴ for the Royal mark to give them currency.

These evils must be stopped, and a Parliamentary enquiry before a Committee took place which heard the evidence of divers honest men of "the Merchant Taylors" and other Companies, as to these evils and their remedy. No one could speak with a wider experience of the effects of such a system than Richard Hilles, as having lived in Germany, and travelled far into Europe as a cloth merchant. Who were the persons examined is not recorded upon our account books, but they show that 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was disbursed to Walter Yonge (whom we trace as a Warden in 1545) for money disbursed under the Act.⁵ As the result of the labours of the Committee an Act⁶ was passed "for the true making of woollen cloth," which was brought into operation from "the Feast of St. John Baptist," but amended in the succeeding reign.

The last Act passed in the reign of Edward VI, strange

¹ Part I, page 198, *et seq.*

² See towns where textile industry was carried on in Rogers's *History of Prices*, vol. 4, page 105, and as to 44 qualities of wool, vol. 3, page 704.

³ 18 Arch., page 56.

⁴ Hall's *History of the Customs*, vol. 1, page 100. The name was derived from the measure "Aulne" an ell, and his duty was to assize or measure cloth. See 1 Mach. Exchr., page 785. The office was abolished by 11 and 12 William III, cap. 20.

⁵ "Memorials of the Merchant Taylors Company, page 528.

⁶ 5 and 6 Edward VI, cap. 6, and 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, cap. 5.

as it may appear was one promoted by Richard Hilles, to give his children born abroad the privileges of native-born English subjects.

By the common law allegiance was the inherent incident of nativity, and due to the Sovereign in whose realm the person was born. Political rights in England were thus forfeited by foreign birth, and the laws of inheritance followed the same rule so that land could only be held by native-born subjects. To remedy this in some degree a Statute was passed (the 25th of Edward III, (St. I) chapter 1), by which "all children inheritors who shall be born without the Ligeance of the King, whose fathers and mothers at the time of their birth be and shall be *at the Faith* and Ligeance of the King shall have and enjoy their inheritance after the death of their ancestors in all parts within the Ligeance of England as well as those that shall be born within the same Ligeance."

The operation of this Act was limited to inheritance, and therefore in March, 1553, Hilles (whom Strype¹ calls "an eminent merchant") obtained an Act of Parliament to confer on his children the rights of natural-born subjects.²

¹ Memorials, Vol. II (part 2), page 66. ² Lords' Journals, Vol. II, page 438.

CHAPTER X.

SIR THOMAS WHITE UNTIL THE DEATH OF
EDWARD VI.

[1492-1553.]

White's connection with the Merchant Taylors Company, p. 98.—Regard for the members, p. 98.—Birth and education, p. 99.—Apprenticed to Hugh Acton, p. 99.—Account of Hugh Acton, p. 99.—White's early success, p. 100.—Elizabeth Barton, p. 100.—Subsidy of 1535, p. 100.—Loans to Coventry, p. 101.—To Bristol, p. 101.—Elected Alderman, p. 102.—Imprisoned for refusal to act, p. 102.—Loan to Henry VIII in 1545, p. 102.—Sheriff, p. 103.—Trust deed with Coventry, p. 103.—Russian Company established, p. 103.—Death of Sir R. Warren, p. 104.—White's commercial prospect, p. 105.—Troubles of the Roman Church, p. 105.—Execution of the Abbot of Reading, p. 105.

WE come now to the life of Sir Thomas White, the most notable citizen who has ever owed allegiance to the Merchant Taylors Company, who lived in that eventful period which was covered by his life extending from 1492 to 1567, and who in one year of it—that of his “Mayoralty of London”—acted a conspicuous part, and by his loyal conduct to Queen Mary Tudor, saved the throne from the rebellion which threatened it.

Nor is this the only claim which he has to the grateful remembrance of his fellow subjects, for he was a prosperous man by reason of his industry and integrity, and he used his wealth in his prosperity for the advancement of education by establishing St. John's College, Oxford, and attaching thereto scholars drawn from a London School, and by creating two funds to be distributed¹ in twenty-nine of the principal cities and towns of England for apprenticing the youths and advancing money to the freemen thereof to enable them successfully to prosecute their trades. Though he bore an especial love to such as are called Merchant Taylors,² he made no benefaction to the funds of the Company save a small sum for a funeral dinner on the day after his burial.³

Sir Thomas White was not by birth a Londoner, but, as he says of himself, was brought up “even almost from infancy” there, and therein “gathered the greatest part of such goods and com-

¹ Pages 103 and 177, *post*. I reckon Merchant Taylors Company as for London.

² Page 185, *post*.

³ Page 180, *post*.

modities which by God's permission and mercy he enjoyed; therefore, to no one was he tied in so sure a bond of friendship as the Londoners."

His place of birth and education was Reading, where he was born in the year 1492, after his father had removed, as the cloth trade had so done, from Rickmansworth. His mother's name was Mary, the daughter of John Kebblewhite, of South Fawley, Bucks.

It was the good fortune of White after he had obtained the rudiments of learning, and these possibly in the Grammar School¹, to become an apprentice to Hugh Acton, of the Merchant Taylors Company, a man well known and respected in London. Acton was first chosen as Warden in 1498, with Sir W. FitzWilliam as a co-Warden, and again in 1503, when Sir John Skevington, served with him as the junior Warden. He attended Henry VIII's Coronation, probably as Master,² with Sir Stephen Jenyns, and we find him in 1511 discharged from jury service as being in the Commission of the Peace. In 1520 he died, was buried at St. Antholin's,³ and was succeeded by his son Hugh, who became Master in 1527, and lived in Watling Street, in a house adjacent to that of another noted guildsman, Thomas Speyte. The house of each was appointed to receive some of the retinue of the Emperor Charles V, and from a comparison of these houses Speyte would appear to have been the wealthier man of the two, for besides a hall and parlour which each house contained, his had three chambers and four beds, to the two and three respectively which Acton's contained.⁴ However, the Taylors have reason to think well of the Actons, for they served the Company in their generation, and were generous benefactors at their deaths. The elder established an apprenticeship fund, which, as we shall see, White probably took as the model for his own benefactions, and the younger Acton, in 1530 devised to the Master and Wardens—his father's old apprentice, Thomas White, being one of the latter—two messuages in St. Martin's, Ludgate, which the Company still possess.

At the age of twelve White was apprenticed, and in the year 1523 he entered into business with 100*l.* given to him by his late

¹ Founded by Henry VII in 1486. John Long being the first master up to 1503. White gave two scholarships to this school.—Coates p. 306.

² The List of Masters from 1507, and for some years, is imperfect.

³ Seymour's London, Book 3, page 515, and Part I, page 37.

⁴ Rutland Papers, page 69.

master, and with such patrimony as his father had left to him. His success must have been rapid, for we find him in 1530 when he was thirty-eight years of age, acting as the first Renter Warden of the Company. From this he passed on to the Senior Wardenship (say) in 1533, and was Master probably in 1535.

Another trace of his name is found in the year 1534, as having had revealed to him the sayings and prophecies of Elizabeth Barton,¹ the Maid of Kent, who, under a later act of attainder, was executed for treason. Her supposed revelations had been made to her confederates, and by them again circulated amongst the citizens. These were deemed to be treasonable as declaring evils against Henry VIII, should he take the course of action he had determined upon taking. Dr. Bocking, the Bishop of Rochester, and Hugh Riche, a Friar observant, and Henry Goold, a Priest, had received and shown her supposed revelations to many persons; Riche to *Mr. White* and *Mr. Dawbney*, Merchant [Taylors] of London; Dr. Bocking to Robert Hewyt and *Thomas Wilford*; and Henry Goold to the Recorder, *Thomas White* and *Robert Dawbney*. No evil consequences came upon White from being made the recipient of these revelations, and we record the fact only as an incident in his life.

In the following year we find him under the name of "Thomas Wight," assessed in 1,000*l.* with other well-known citizens and members of the Merchant Taylors' Company for the subsidy to be raised in 1535,² thus:—

<i>Stephen Kirton</i> , 1,000 <i>l.</i>	<i>Richard Bukland</i> , 1,000 <i>l.</i>
Nic. Leveson, 2,000 <i>l.</i>	John Garwey, 1,000 <i>l.</i>
Andrew Judde, 1,000 <i>l.</i>	Martin Bowes, 2,000 <i>l.</i>
<i>Nich. Weller</i> , 1,000 <i>l.</i>	Arthur Hynde, 1,000 <i>l.</i>
John Judde, 1,000 <i>l.</i>	<i>George Robynson</i> , 2,000 marks.
<i>John Wilford</i> , 1,000 <i>l.</i>	William Laxton, 1,000 <i>l.</i>
<i>William Wilford</i> , 1,000 <i>l.</i>	<i>Thomas Wight</i> , 1,000 <i>l.</i>
Raffe Waren, 3,000 <i>l.</i>	<i>Robert Dawbney</i> , 1,000 <i>l.</i>
Richard Holt, 1,000 <i>l.</i>	<i>Harry Huberthorne</i> , 1,000 <i>l.</i>

His trade was in cloth,³ and we may presume it to have been extensive in those various cities and towns throughout England

¹ Vol. I, Part I, page 271, of Strype's Memo., and Dom. Cat. (1533), 1468.

² Dom. Cal., page 184 [478]. The Merchant Taylors are in italics.

³ Appendix 4, page 352.

to which he ultimately became so liberal a benefactor. His first gift or loan was in July, 1542, to enable the city of Coventry to purchase real estate for the benefit of their city. "I trust (writes Sir Thomas White to the Corporation in 1566) y^t as you be worshipful men so you will consider wth gentleness I have showed to you and to your Citty. First whereas the Parke was owte by lease I lent you 200*l*. to bye the Lease into your owne hands and did forbear the same great while and by means of the said Lease the Parke is now come wholly into your owne hands, furthermore when you purchased the Chauntry lands you had of me 1,000*l*. or thereabouts to helpe you to purchase with all wch was a great furthering to your purchase and besides this with money wch I gave you bought lands of King Henry the 8th for certaine uses to comodity of yore Citty wch you know right well wch lands be farr better in vallue at this day than they were purchased for as you right well know, in manner double, you have had the lettings of Leases, the sale of woods and all other Comoditys belonging to the said lands for these 21 or 22 yeares or thereabouts. I do know that some Leases be come into yore hands by this time wch be four times more of value than they were purchased for of all these Comoditys coming above the rents have I received none, but have suffered you to receive ye benefitt from time to time for the love I did beare to yore Citty and Cittyzens of Coventry."

His second gift or loan was in July, 1545, of 2,000*l*. to the city of Bristol to purchase lands of which the rents were to be applied on trusts which were declared before his death.

In the year antecedent to the last gift a curious episode, not without precedent in other instances, happened in his life. It related to his election as Alderman, the qualification being at that time more or less a matter of regulation.¹

His shop and residence were then in St. Michael's, Cornhill,² and on the death of Sir W. Bowyer, Alderman of the ward in 1533-4,

¹ Part I, pages 19 and 24.

² See Churchwarden's Accounts by Waterlow, page 129. Ultimately White lived in Size Lane, and in the first year of Edward VI (2nd January, 1547-8), Thomas White and Avice, his wife, took a lease of the garden and garden plot in the parish of St. Thomas Apostle, with all the brick walis compassing the same, except and reserving to the Rector (the Lessor) the door within the brick wall over against his parsonage door, with liberty for the Rector and his friends with him to walk in the said garden, and to take erbyes for his commodation without waste or destruction from Lady Day next coming for 26 years at the yearly rent of 20*s*. by half-yearly payments.—Consistory Court of London, Wilson's Tracts (2nd), pages 16-7.

White was elected as his successor, but would not accept the office until punished for contumacy.

“Item.—To-day the Lord Mayor (Sir Ralph Warren) informed the Court here that he, according to the laws and customs of this city had summoned before him, for the election of the ninth Alderman in the ward of Cornhill, by the death of William Bowyer, Esq., late Lord Mayor and Alderman of the same Ward now vacant, all the inhabitants of the said Ward, who had nominated William Truman, Esq., and John Titus, Aldermen, William Butler, Grocer, and Thomas White, Merchant Taylor, that one of them might be elected by this Court to the post of Alderman of the said Ward. Of whom, one, viz., the said Thomas Whyte, who ought to be elected to the said post, altogether refused to take upon himself the weight thereof, wherefore he straight, according to the laws and customs of this city of London, to the gaol of our Lord the King’s in Newgate for his contumacy by this Court was committed, and to the hall thereof called Mannyng Hall,¹ to be kept in safe custody until he shall have submitted and assumed the said office, &c. And further it is decreed by the Court that the windows of his shop should be closed so long as he should continue in his obstinacy [Dated 36 Henry VIII.]”²

White probably soon came to submission, for we find him in 1544, entered in the list of Aldermen (not then knighted) who, with the members of the Livery Companies, lent to the King a total sum of 21,263*l.*, for his war against Scotland, White’s loan being 300*l.*³ The advance made by the City, was not enough for the purpose, and the King took the arbitrary and illegal course of assessing the city to a benevolence, during the Mayoralty of Sir Thomas Laxton, which led to a further and more notorious violation of civil and constitutional right, thus related by Stowe :

“On the 12th January, 1545, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were brought before the Council at Castle Baynard, and Alderman Read, who had lent 200*l.*, was commanded to serve the King in the Scotch army because he would not pay this illegal assessment to the loan or subsidy which the King proposed to raise. Further, Alderman Sir W. Roche was sent to the Fleet till Palm Sunday for words of displeasure spoken to the Council.” The fate of Read is well known, he had to serve as a conscript, and was taken

¹ This was not long after destroyed by fire.

² I am indebted to Dr. Sharpe of Guildhall for this extract.

³ Hall’s Chronicle for 1545.

prisoner, and then had to impoverish himself by purchasing his ransom.¹ He never was Lord Mayor, and what eventually became of him is not known.

Sir Thomas White is said to have married, in the later years of Henry VIII's reign, a lady (Avisia, or Avis) whose surname and family are unknown.² He was chosen Sheriff in the year 1547, for the Mayoralty of Sir John Gresham, in which the city marching watch on the eve of St. John Baptist's day, laid aside since the year 1539, was restored.³ In 1549-50 he aided his guild with money to purchase the obit rent charges.⁴

We are not aware of any noteworthy incident in White's life until the year 1551, when the city of Coventry "at the mediation of certain friends of Sir Thomas White," made a settlement of the trusts to which the sums paid to them in 1542 should be made applicable. Except as being a member of the Merchant Taylors Company, to whom the city of Coventry made their indenture on the 6th July, White is no party to the deed. By it the Corporation agreed with the Company after the death of White to distribute out of the rents of the estates purchased with his money certain fixed and stated sums, for objects which we must presume White to have laid down as the best form of charity. These sums were to be⁵ for the benefit of poor men, inhabitant householders, and not common beggars, in free or pure alms towards their relief and succour, so that the men having it one year should not have it again for five years; and in free loans⁶ to young men of good name, fame and thrifty, who had been free apprentices in one of these five towns, viz. : Coventry, Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, and Warwick. The proportions to be paid were to be four-seventieths to the Corporation of Coventry and other towns, one-seventieth to the Merchant Taylors Company, and one-seventieth to the Coventry Town Clerk, proportions which still continue to be paid, with this advantage that the rent which was 70*l.* in 1556, is now a gross sum of 4,493*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

The Russian trade was opened by White and other London merchants⁷ in the last year of Edward's reign (1553), which was

¹ Stowe, Book I, page 282.

² Coates' Reading, page 405.

³ Part I, page 56.

⁴ Part I, page 147.

⁵ Vol. 28 of the Char. Com. Rep., page 172 *et* Att.-Genl. v. Coventry, 2 Vern. Ch. Ca., page 396, and 3 Mad. Rep., page 353.

⁶ The loan of Coventry amounted in 1856 to 2000*l.* In 1869 Warwick had 7,000*l.* accumulated. No applicants to whom the money could be safely lent being found.

⁷ Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, Vol. II, page 114.

therefore an eventful one in our commercial history. The object was to discover, as the Spanish and Portuguese had done, new countries, passing by the northern passage to China.

For this purpose a company was formed with a capital of 6,000*l.* in 240 shares of 25*l.* a share. On the 20th May three vessels were fitted up under the encouragement of Sebastian Cabot,¹ and placed under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, and sailed for Northern Russia. Two of these vessels were lost in Russian Lapland, the crews (70 in number) being frozen to death; but the third vessel (commanded by Richard Chancellor) got to the White Sea, and landed at the Abbey of St. Nicholas, near Archangel, where no ship had ever before been seen.

The Russians had then no seaports or shipping on the Baltic shores, and their trade in rich firs, hemp, &c., was carried to other countries. It was the object of these merchants to attract this to England, and they succeeded in so doing; reaping, as they deserved to do, a rich harvest of wealth.

The chief promoters of this undertaking, hereafter styled "Muscovy Merchants," were,² in addition to *White*, Sir George Barnes, Sir John Gresham, Sir Andrew Judde, *York*, Garrett, Southcote, and others; but as the young King died before he had executed a very ample charter to these adventurers, a more complete charter of incorporation was granted to them on the 6th February (1st and 2nd Philip and Mary), under which the trade with Russia was for many years conducted.

In July, 1553, Sir Thomas White lost his friend Sir Ralph Warren, who died at his country house at Bethnal Green, but was brought to London in a horse litter for a post-mortem examination³ and interment. Of his funeral Machyn thus writes:

"The xvj day of July, was Raff Warren knyght, mercer and alderman, and twysse [lord mayor of] London, and marchand of the stapull and marchand ven[turer, buried] with standard and v pennons of armes, a cott armur, a helmett, mantyll and crest, and sword, and a xij dosen of schochyons; and ther wher my lord mere morner berer, the iiij sqyre mornars, and mony aldermen at ys beryng; [there] wher mony mornars in blake, and in black cotes, and ther wher L. gownes gyffyn unto L. men of rats coler, of a m a yerd; and ther dyned my lord

¹ Stowe, page 609.

² Strype, Memo., 3, Part I, page 520.

³ 2 Wrioeth., page 87.

mayre and mony aldermen, [and] ther wher a great dener as I have sene."

The period of his life hitherto noticed was that of his greatest commercial prosperity. We find him disposing of large capital sums for the uses of the Crown, of his guild, and of two important cities with which he had trade connections. The advance to Coventry was made at the request of the people, "to preserve the commonwealth of the city when it was in great ruin and decay," and that to Bristol, if not under the same urgency, was made to a city not wanting in men of wealth or public spirit; neither of the advances being made from selfish motives, but on the contrary devoted ultimately to charitable objects.

But other matters—notably the affairs of the Roman Church, in which he was deeply interested—were not so prosperous. When White became a citizen Henry VIII was its champion, having gained as such the title, which is still held by his successors, of "Defender of the Faith," but when he became an Alderman Henry VIII, with the aid of Wolsey, was beginning to uproot those strongholds of the Roman Church, the monasteries. The fate of one of these, and of its inmates, must have moved White's sympathy in no ordinary degree. Reading, with which place he probably held continuous intercourse¹ until his death, had one of the grandest abbeys in the kingdom. It was founded as the place of Henry I's sepulchre, and was presided over by an Abbot, who was both mitred and a Peer of Parliament. At the time of its surrender Hugh was the 31st Abbot, whose predecessors had governed it for 300 years and upwards. Not only were the charters and lands surrendered by Hugh on the 17th September, but the same Hugh, on the 14th November of the same year (1539), was hanged and quartered at Reading for upholding the Papal supremacy.²

Church affairs, looked upon from a Roman standpoint, continued to be a subject of anxiety until Mary Tudor became Queen, and the incidents of her reign, as illustrating the life of White, we propose to enter upon in the next chapter.

¹ Part I, page 392.

² Coates' Reading, page 264.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MAYORALTY OF SIR THOMAS WHITE, 1553-4.¹

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To Hilles and the friends of his religious opinions the evil days of Mary's reign were at hand. But before entering upon these we must glance at that episode in history, Lady Jane Grey's acceptance of the Crown, in which Richard Hilles declared himself to be her supporter.

During Edward's last illness, a marriage was solemnized between Guilford (the son of the Duke of Northumberland) and Lady Jane (the Duke of Suffolk's daughter), when it became the policy of Northumberland and of his friends in the Council to get

¹ The City records of this mayoralty are Latin books from fo. 277 to 311 (b), and Rep. 13, from page 92 to 219 (b), notes of which have been given to me by Mr. Trice Martin.

Lady Jane Grey named by Edward in his last will as his successor, thereby passing over his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth.

To accept this arrangement the Lord Mayor (Sir George Barnes) was summoned to Greenwich on the 8th July, 1553, and to bring with him six or eight Aldermen, six Merchant Staplers, and six Adventurers. In these he included four members of the Merchant Taylors Company, namely Thomas Offley, Emanuel Lucar, John Withers, and Richard Hilles, who thus became signatories to the King's Letters Patent.¹

A full account of what passed at that important meeting with the Privy Council, is given by Hilles on the 9th July, in his letter to Bullinger :

“Praise to God ! Much health ! Yesterday, my faithful and very dear friend, the lord mayor, with some of the aldermen and merchants, citizens of London, were summoned to the king's palace at Greenwich, on the banks of the river Thames, and about a German mile from the city. When they arrived there, in the presence of the king's most honourable councillors, the lord treasurer, the president of the same council, addressed them to this effect, namely, that our very pious and holy king Edward VI (who has now departed from this world and valley of tears, and, his earthly tabernacle being dissolved, is now, I doubt not, in the enjoyment of his eternal mansion in heaven), bearing in mind that, mighty sovereign as he was, he was nevertheless subject to death, and the rather, because he had lately been weak and in bad health ; studying too, not a little, that this English nation might be ruled and governed after his departure in tranquility and peace ; and considering that both his sisters (of whom the elder, Mary, is ill-disposed to the pure doctrine of the gospel) have been, by certain statutes enacted by authority of parliament in the reign of his father, declared illegitimate, as born of an unlawful marriage ; earnestly required his honourable councillors to agree among themselves, in case the Lord should take his majesty from them, to admit, and account for his lawful heir and successor, the son of the lady Frances, now duchess of Suffolk (provided she have a son during the king's life-time), who is the daughter of the lady Mary, the aunt of his majesty, and formerly queen of France ; and afterwards the lady Jane, a truly learned and pious lady, who has this very year married the lord Guilford, youngest son of the duke of Northumberland, provided the said lady Frances have no lawful

¹ Vol. I, *State Trials*, page 760. 2 *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, page 85. *Queens Jane and Mary*, page 89 (1850), Camden Society, and see page 119, *post*.

male issue during the life-time of king Edward. He stated, moreover, that all the king's honourable councillors, together with nearly all the chief nobility of the realm, had faithfully promised and bound themselves by oath and manual subscription to a writing to the same effect, that they would accomplish and perfect this arrangement, conceived by the king's majesty during his illness. Wherefore they desired the lord mayor and aldermen of London to be in like manner conformable, and to sign this document, which they readily did. So that, though Almighty God, in punishment of our heinous sins, has taken away from us the most holy prince Edward our sovereign, concerning whom all persons who have ever known his majesty state, that they never saw a more excellent or more godly mind in any mortal body; yet we are not altogether without God's mercy since He has now ordained such a successor to so pious a king, under whom we have great hopes (for, praised be the Lord, we do not see anything to prevent it) that we, her subjects, shall nevertheless be able to live a godly, quiet, and tranquil life in all peace, virtue, and righteousness; and that the pure word of God will always be sincerely preached in this realm, and the true doctrine of the gospel maintained to the great comfort of all believers who dwell here, which may the Lord Almighty grant! Amen."¹

To Sir Thomas White the accession of Mary was the great epoch of his life. There were then in the Court of the Company, as in the city, two parties—the Roman, or Marian, and the Lady Jane Grey, or Reforming party. We have seen that Sir George Barnes (White's immediate predecessor), was, by Hilles' account of him, of the latter, and also that when summoned to Greenwich, though he took with him a section of the Merchant Taylors' Court, neither White nor Hubbathorne was of the deputation. This fact indicates the leaders of the two parties in the Court.

Barnes had been the Sheriff in that year of persecution (1545), when Anne Askew and others were burnt in Smithfield, and he would naturally have dreaded a return to a reign of terror. To advance his party he had named (as he had a right to do) Offley as Sheriff, who was elected by his fellow citizens in June for 1553–4.

Thus matters stood when Edward VI died. Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen, and for a time may be supposed to have

¹ There is no mention of this interview in the City Records. The Corporation met on the 6th and 11th, and on the 12th July ordered all aldermen that were absent to return to London.

reigned, but the party of Mary was too strong to have her right to the throne set aside, nor were the supporters of Elizabeth willing to see her claims ignored.¹

The kingdom was threatened with civil commotion, but in a short interval Sir George Barnes and the Corporation went over to Mary. On the 19th July the Council also changed their minds and assembling at Barnard's Castle, writes Stow, "where they communed with the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Shrewsbury, and the Clerk of the Council with the Lord Mayor secretly, and he with the Sheriffs and such other of the Aldermen with the Recorder, as he thought best to meet him and the Council at Barnard's Castle within less than an hour, which they did, where the Council declared to the Lord Mayor and his brethren that he and they must ride with them into the Cheape to proclaim Mary, and they riding from thence to St. Paul's Churchyard and into Cheape, the people were so assembled that the Lords could not ride to the Cross where the Garter King-at-Arms proclaimed the Lady Mary Queen, which proclamation ended, the Lord Mayor and all the Council rode to St. Paul's Church, when the *Te Deum* was sung."²

On the following day Sir George Barnes, as Lord Mayor, received all the Council, with Cranmer, as Archbishop, to dinner, possibly the last entertainment to which Cranmer was ever summoned.

So far harmony was restored, and as at that period the Sovereign on coming to the throne usually wanted ready money the Corporation and guilds voted Mary a gift or benevolence, which, under date of the 27th July, thus appears in the accounts of the Merchant Taylors.

"To the Chamberlain of London according to the Mayor's precept towards a reward given by certain of the Worshipful Corporations of the city unto the Queen's Grace when she lay at Newhall afore her coming to London, 40l.," and on turning to Wriothesley we find this description of its presentation to the Queen:—

"29th July, 1553. Sir Martin Bowes, *Sir H. Hubbathorne*, Mr. Recorder, *Mr. Whight* (Sir Thomas White, we presume), and Mr. Garrett, Sheriff, rode to the Queen at Newhall in Essex, and

¹ "She is loved by all of us.

I scarce have heart to mingle in this matter,
If she should be mesharellled."

(*Sir Thomas White in Tennyson's Queen Mary, Act 2, Scene 2.*)

² Stowe, page 612.

there presented to Her Highness, in a purse of crimson velvet vCt in half-sovereigns of gould in the name of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, given to Her Highness of a benevolence, which gift she highly and thankfully accepted, and caused the presenters to have great chere in her house. This money was levyed amonge the Commons of the city of London, every Company after their degrees to be paid to the Chamberlayne by the 1st day of August next cominge, but every Alderman lev^t £20 in gould the 28th day of July to have yt speedily sent to Her Highness."

It will be noticed that Sir George Barnes did not, but that White and Hubbathorne did attend the Queen. She could not, therefore, feel quite confident of the loyalty of all the citizens, and subsequent events shewed that there was some reason for her apprehension.

The behaviour of the people at the sermons at Paul's Cross was some test of public feeling, and on the 13th August, while Dr. Bourne was preaching there and referring to Bonner (a man in ill-favour with the citizens), the audience broke out into murmurs, and one of them threw a dagger which hit the pulpit and obliged the preacher to escape to St. Paul's School under the protection of Bradford and Rogers. Whereupon the Council, sitting at the Tower after this tumult, made an order to the Lord Mayor "to have a special eye to the common watch in the night within the precincts of their liberties, appointing the most substantial householders to keep the said watch and to apprehend five or six of the authors (as nigh as they can) of the said tumult, and to commit them to warde till further be known of the Queen's pleasure."

It would seem as if Sir George Barnes, notwithstanding this order, had been deficient in vigilance, for on the 14th August, the Council ordered him and his brethren to appear at the Tower on the 16th at eight A.M., and to bring to the Council a full report "whether they be able or no by their ability to keep the city committed to their charge without seditious tumults, and finding themselves able so to do to make declaration by what measure or policy they will do it, and if they be *not* able then the Maior to yeld up his sword unto the Queen's Highness and to shew the lettes and impedimentes of their inhabillitee."¹

The Queen's guard were to attend at Paul's Cross on Sunday (the 18th) but the "wiser men" perceiving this and looking with

¹ 2 Wrioth., page 98 ; 18 Arch., page 174.

jealousy upon an armed body acting in the city under Royal command, the Lord Mayor ordered "that the antients of the Companies should be present in their liveries;" "and so they were, whereby (adds Holinshed)¹ all became quiet."

Mary's coronation soon followed, and that we may be reminded of what a Royal procession through London then was, let us take from Holinshed his description of her progress from the Tower to Westminster on the 28th September. After describing her chariot and costume, the chronicler continues:—

"After the Queen's chariot Sir Edward Hastings led her horse in his hand. Then came another chariot having a covering of cloth of silver all white, and six horses with trappings to match; wherein sat the Lady Elizabeth and the Lady Anna of Cleves. Then Ladies and Gentleman riding on horses trapped with red velvet, and their gowns and kirtles likewise of red velvet; and after them two other chariots covered with red satin, and the horses betrapped with the same; and between each chariot Gentlemen on horseback, in a costume of crimson satin. The number of the Gentlemen so riding was six and forty, beside those in the chariots.

"At Fenchurch was a costly Pageant made by the Genoese: at Gracechurch-corner another by the Easterlings. At the upper end of Gracechurch Street a third, being a very high arch with three gateways. At its top stood four pictures; and in the midst of them, and highest, stood an angel, all in green, with a trumpet in his hand; and when the trumpeter (who stood secretly in the pageant) did sound his trumpet, the angel put his trumpet to his mouth, as though it had been the same that had sounded, to the great marvelling of many ignorant persons.

"The Conduit in Cornhill ran wine, and beneath it was a Pageant made at the charge of the City. Similar entertainments were repeated at the Great Conduit in Cheap. The Standard in Cheap was repainted, and the waits of the city were aloft thereon, playing. The Cross was newly washed and burnished.

"At the Little Conduit in Cheap, near St. Paul's, was another Pageant made by the City; and here stood the Aldermen, who by the Recorder, welcomed the Queen with a short 'proposition' or speech, and, by the chamberlain, with the more substantial offering of a purse of cloth of gold, containing a thousand marks.

"In St. Paul's Churchyard, against the School, one Master Heiwood sat in a Pageant under a vine, and made an oration in

¹ Vol. 4, page 3.

Latin and English. Then was there one Peter, a Dutchman, that stood on the weathercock of St. Paul's steeple, holding in his hand a streamer of five yards long, and, waving it, stood sometimes on one foot, and shook the other, and kneeled on his knees, to the great marvel of the people. He had two scaffolds made under him; one above the cross having torches and streamers set on it, and another over the ball of the cross, likewise set with streamers and torches, which could not burn on account of the wind. The said Peter had 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* given him by the City for his cost and pains, and for all his stuff.

"In a Pageant made against the Dean's gate, the choristers of the cathedral played on vials and sang. Ludgate was newly repaired, painted, and richly hung, and furnished with minstrels playing and singing. There was another Pageant at the Conduit in Fleet Street; and the Temple Bar was newly painted and hanged. And thus the Queen passed to Whitehall, where she took her leave of the Lord Mayor, giving him great thanks for his pains and the City for their cost."

The day after Mary's coronation, the 2nd October, must be taken to be the date of White's receiving the honour of knight-hood.¹ After the year 1519, it was usual, Stow writes, to knight the Lord Mayor; and Strype says expressly that White was dubbed with others in the Queen's presence under the Cloth of State by the Earl of Arundel, acting by special commission from Her Majesty. Wriothesley makes an explicit statement of his attendance at Whitehall to receive this honour on the 10th December; however, whichever date be taken, it is clear, that White's service in Wyatt's rebellion was not the cause, as writers have hitherto said, for this honour being conferred upon him.

Sir Thomas White was sixty years of age before the important epoch of his life had arrived, when he had to act as Chief Magistrate in the eventful year of the first of Mary's reign. Disaffection to the Throne was rife; the ecclesiastical policy of the Reformation had to be reversed, and Philip of Spain to be received upon his marriage with Queen Mary as the future Sovereign of England.

It was a matter of some moment to the security of Queen Mary's Throne that the Alderman to be chosen as Lord Mayor

¹ There was another Sir Thomas White, Knight, whose will is proved in the same year as that of the founder of St. John's, but I cannot trace the occasion of his being knighted or the date of it.

should be a man of undoubted loyalty to her person and in full sympathy with her religious convictions, and from what we know of White he had at least these qualifications.

The election was not then, as of course, in favour of the senior Alderman below the Chair but the expression of the wills of the citizens,¹ influenced more or less, as they would be, by the Council or courtiers living in the Tower. There was then corporate unity,—that is the Governors at Guildhall, and at the common halls of the Guilds—acted together as one entire corporation, not as separate units on eccentric lines of action.

The election being over, the Lord Mayor could not enter upon office until he had been accepted by the Crown “as a fit and proper person,” which acceptance was given by the Lord Chancellor, hence the attendance of all the civic authorities at Westminster, which, in Sir Thomas White’s time, was made by water in the State barges of the Corporation and Guilds.² The return journey was made through the streets, so that all the citizens might see and pay homage to their Chief Magistrate for the ensuing year.³

Then came the pageant which, in White’s year, Machyn⁴ thus describes :

“[The same day the new Lord Mayor went] toward Westmynster [attended by the] craftes of London in their best leveray . . . with trumpets blohyng and the whets playng . . . a goodly fuyst trymmed with banars and guns . . . waytyng of my lord mayre(s) barge unto Westmynster [and] all the craftes bargers with stremars and banars [of every] craft, and so to the Cheker, and so hom-wards; my lord mayre landyd at Banard Castell and [in St. Paul’s] chyrche-yerd dyd hevere craft wher set in [array]: furst wher ij tallmen bayreng ij gret stremars [of] the Marchand-tayllers armes, then cam on [with a] drume and a flutt playng, and a-nodur with a gret f[ife ?] all they in blue sylke, and then cam ij grett wodyn [armed] with ij grett clubes all in grene, and with skwybes bornyng . . . with gret berds and synd here, and ij targets a-pon ther bake . . . and then cam xvj trumpeters blohyng, and then cam in [blue] gownes, and capes and hosse and blue sylke slevys, and evere man havyng a

¹ Part I, pages 21 and 135.

² This custom is said to have originated in 1434, when the Lord Mayor (Sir John Norman) built a magnificent barge, and the Guilds adopted his example.
¹ Hugh’s London, Vol. 1, page 102.

³ Part I, page 23. The Lord Mayor’s state coach dates from 1757—Her Majesty’s from 1762—both painted by Cépriani.

⁴ See also *Gent. Mag.*, Oct., 1833.

target and a gayffelyn to the nombur of lxx . . . and then cam a duylyll, and after cam the bachelars all in a leveray, and skarlett hods; and then cam the pagant of sant John Baptyst gorgusly, with goodly speches; and then cam all the kynges trumpeters blowhyng, and evere trumpeter havyng skarlet capes, and the wetes capes and godly banars, and then the craftes, and then the wettes playhyng, and then my lord mayre('s) offesers, and then my lord mayre and ij good henchmen, and then all the aldermen and the shreyffes, and so to dener; and after dener to Powlles, and all them that bare targets dyd [bare] after stayff-torches, with all the trumpets and wettes blowhyng thugh Powlles, thugh rondabowt the qwer and the body of the chyrche blowhyng, and so home to my lord mere('s) howsse.

"The morrow of St. Simon and St. Jude" was for centuries the well-known day of revel and rejoicing for the citizens, as on that day by their free election supreme authority in the city passed from one ruler to another. The Guild of which he was a member rallied round him and the Pageant was designed by them and often paid for—not out of the "Common Box" of the guild—but by the subscriptions or assessment of its members.¹

The election to office of a member of the Company led, as we have already seen,² to some corporate expenditure on his behalf. Sir W. Harper had been elected to the mastership of the Company, and the first item in the account book for this year is: To the Lord Mayor (Sir Thomas White) in support of his charges, and for discharging this house of all charges concerning the having of a watch at Midsummer, if any such to be, 40%."

At that time and for many years after the Lord Mayor had no official residence, and therefore the grant was originally made, to use the quaint language of early writers, "to trim his Lordship's house." The custom was deep-rooted, for when by the fire of London the Company's rents had disappeared, the Lord Mayor, of the Company (Sir W. Bolton), refused to relinquish his claim to this payment, which after some controversy was conceded to him.

The Sheriff (Sir Thomas Offley) had also a vote of 20% for his expenses, and the Lord Mayor and Sheriff each had members of the Company willing to yield the kindly aid of personal service during the great ceremonials of the official year.

But there are three friends of Sir Thomas White to whom reference must be made before entering upon the eventful year of his

¹ Part I, pages 65, 74, and 334.

² Page 16, *ante*.

³ As to these customs, see Harper's *Life*, Chap. XVII and XVIII, *post*.

mayoralty in which they bore some part, these are Sir Andrew Judde,¹ Sir William Cordell, and Sir Thomas Pope.

First in regard would come Judde, to whose Tonbridge School some years' after his decease, White left a perpetual scholarship: "*Propter eximium amorem in Andream Judde.*" As members of the "Skynners and Taylors" how often must they have drank together in the loving cup at the "Common Hall" of each Company (under Billesden's² decree of 1484), that time-honoured toast of "Skynners and Merchant Taylors, Merchant Taylors and Skynners, root and branch, and may they flourish for ever." Judde was born of a good family long settled at Tonbridge, in Kent; his mother was a member of the Check family, one of great antiquity in the same county. He was a Skynner by trade, a member of the Russia Company, and dealt in Muscovy furs. He became Sheriff in 1544, living in Bishopsgate Street, "somewhat to the west of Sir Thomas Gresham's," the same house "wherein Sir William Hollis kept his mayoralty," and wherein Judde did the same with princely hospitality in the year 1550-1.

Within a month of taking office, he had the misfortune of losing his wife, whose funeral Machyn thus describes:³

"The xix day of November was bured my lade Jude, ma[yress] of London, and wyff of sir Androw Jude, mayr of London, and bered in the parryche of saynt Ellen in Bysshope-gatt stret, for he gayff mony, gownes, and to the powre men and women ij C. gownes of mantyll . . . and the Clarkes of London had the beryng of my lade, and then came . . . with ij harolds a-for with iiij baners a-bowt her borne, and after my [lord] mayre and ys bredurne, and alle the stret and the chyrche wher hangyd with blake and with schochyons of ther armes, and a gret dolle and a grett [dinner.]"

This loss would seem to have been only a temporary grief, for on the 7th February he married—as his second wife—the widow of Thomas Langton, a brother Skynner, having five children, but a rich marriage, the contract or settlement (we presume) amounting to 6,000*l.* or more. His third wife was a daughter of Thomas Mathew,⁴ of Colchester, Esq., who, after surviving him, became the wife of James Altham, of Mark Hall, Essex.

¹ See Dr. Cox's *Annals of St. Helen's*, London, 1876, page 247.

² See Part I, page 137, and for the decree, *Memorials*, page 243.

³ As to Judde's election as Lord Mayor, his first wife's death and remarriage, see Vol. II, *Wriothesley's Diary*, pages 43-46.

⁴ My mother was a "Mathew," and I make the statement in the text on the

Judde was knighted on the 17th February, and joined as Lord Mayor in a collateral security to guarantee the payment of King Edward's debt to Anthony Fugger and Co. (the Antwerp bankers). Like other citizens of his period Judde held wealth as a means of doing good, and therefore in the last year of Edward's reign (1553) he obtained a patent for endowing with real estate a Grammar School (still flourishing) at his native place, Tonbridge.

In the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion Judde bore a conspicuous part in co-operating with Sir Thomas White in defending London Bridge. The Skynners having their Common Hall at Dowgate were near to the scene of action, and they raised volunteers under Judde to meet the rebels on their approach from Deptford. The year after (1555) as Lord Deputy and Mayor of the staple of Calais, Judde received Philip when he passed over from England to visit Charles V at Brussels, and presented him with a purse containing 1,000 marks in gold, a munificent gift from any one citizen.

Having established almsouses which are still to be seen in Great St. Helen's, Judde died on the 4th September, 1558 (predeceasing White by eight years), and was buried, according to Machyn, in great pomp in Great St. Helen's, where his tomb remains to this day.

"[The xiv day of September was buried sir Andrew Jud, skinner merchant of Muscovy, and late mayor of London; with a] . . . pennon of armes, and a x dosen penselles . . . skochyons, and a herse of wax of v prynde[pals, garnished with] angelles, and a (*blank*) pormen in nuw gownes, and master Clarenshus kyng of armes, and master Somersett harold, [and the morrow] masse and a sermon and after my lord mare and the althermen had (*unfinished*)."

Next would come Sir William Cordell. Though born at Edmonton he was of Suffolk origin, and ultimately acquired the manor of Long Melford, where he lies buried. Educated at Cambridge he was then called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, and entered Parliament as member for Steyning in March, becoming, on the 30th September, 1553, Solicitor-General to Queen Mary. When the intimacy with White commenced is unrecorded, but it

faith of an exemplification, under date 5th October, 1558 (4th and 5th Phillp and Mary), of arms to Dame Mary Mathew, daughter of Thomas Mathew, Gentleman, of Colchester, otherwise called Dame Mary Judd, the wife of Sir A. Judd, Knight, Lord Mayor, and Alderman.

lasted for their lives, as Cordell was White's executor and probably framed the Statutes for St. John's College, of which he was appointed by Sir Thomas White to be the "Visitor."

As Solicitor-General he conducted Wyatt's prosecution, and in November, 1557, was promoted to the office of Master of the Rolls, which, though a member of the House of Commons and its Speaker, he held for nearly twenty-four years, the death of Mary making no difference in his judicial position. Elizabeth in her Suffolk progress visited him in 1578 at Long Melford Hall. "He was one of the firste that beganne this great feasting, and did lighte such a candle to the reste of the sheere many that were glad bountefully and franckly to follow the same example with such charges and lost, as the whole trayne were in some sort pleased therewith."¹ After Sir Thomas White's death when difficulties arose with the College of St. John's, he was, as we shall read, very frequently referred to by the Taylors. He died on the 17th May, 1587, and in testimony of their great respect for him the whole Court attended his body from the Rolls House to Christ Church, where it was laid out until taken to Suffolk for burial.²

The last to be mentioned is Sir Thomas Pope. He was born in 1508 at Deddington, in Oxfordshire. Educated first at Banbury School and then at Eton, he was clerk and livery servant to John Croke, of the Six Clerks in Chancery.³ In after life he held various offices, as Brief Clerk to the Star Chamber in 1553; Warden of the Mint in the Tower in 1535; Clerk of the Crown in 1538, Treasurer of the Court of Augmentation in 1536; and on the 15th March of the same year he was knighted.

Sir Thomas Pope is said to have been one of the Visitors for the dissolution of Abbeys, but Fuller acquits him of plunder, "he appeareth one of a candid carriage, and in this respect stands sole and single by himself." Of that which he received of the abbey lands he refunded a considerable portion for the building and endowment of Trinity College, Oxford.

In the year of White's mayoralty (March, 1554) Sir Thomas Pope originated the foundation of this college, and in March of the following year executed his foundation deed in favour of the President, Fellows, and Scholars.

During the same period White was engaged in founding St.

¹ Elizabeth's Progress, 2 Nichol, page 117.

² Page 224, *post*.

³ Whitelock's Life, Camden Society (1858), page 24.

John's, and in a letter dated March, 1556, at Clerkenwell from Pope to the President of Trinity he refers to White as having (at his request) lent "his littell organs till the beginning of somer when I may bring mine to you without hurting them." Pope's biographer mentions White as one of his friends, and the Bursar's books show that more than once he dined at Trinity.¹ These two Colleges founded by Pope and White are referred to by Heylin as making Mary's reign memorable, "which had otherwise nothing in it but misfortune and calamity."

Sir Thomas Pope died on the 29th January, 1559, and, like White, made Sir W. Cordell his executor. The place of his primary interment is a matter of some doubt; Machyn mentions Clerkenwell (in which parish he died), but Stowe gives St. Stephen's,² Walbrook, as the church where his body rested until 1567, when it was removed to the Chapel of Trinity, Oxford.

This is Machyn's account of his funeral:

"The vj day of Feybruary went to the chyrche to be bered at Clarkenwell ser Thomas Pope knyght, with a standard and cott, pennon of armes, a targett, elmett and sword, and a ij dosen of armes, and xij for the branchys and vj for the . . . of boke-ram; and ij haroldes of armes, master Clarenshus and master Yorke; master Clarenshus bare the cott, and master Yorke bare the helmett and crest. And he gayff xl mantyll frys gownes, xx men and xx women; and xx men bare torchys; and the vomen ij and ij to-gether, with torchys; and ij grett whyt branches, and iij branches tapurs of wax garnysshed with armes, and with iiij idosen pensels. And ser Recherd Southwell knyght and ser Thomas Stradlyng, and dyver oder morners in blake, to the number of lx and mo in blake, and all the howsse and the chyrche with blake and armes; and after to the plasse to drynke, with spysse-bred and wyne; and the morow masse, iij songe, . . . with ij pryke songe, and the iij of requiem, with the clarkes of London; and after he was bered; and, that done, to the plasse to dener, for ther was a grett dener, and plente of all thynges, and a grett dolle of money."

In the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion we find no special mention of Pope, but on the 3rd November, 1553, when the prisoners in the Tower (for treason against the Crown) had to be disposed of various Committees were formed by the Council, and the prisoners assorted for trial by each Committee. Upon one of these Sir W.

¹ Warton's *Life*, page 123.

² Warton, page 172.

Cordell and Sir Thomas Pope acted, to examine and assess the fines upon such prisoners as were brought before them for treason in the late rebellion.¹

Taken in order of date the more important duties of White's mayoralty were: his trial of State prisoners as Chief Commissioner; the reception of the Spanish Commissioners respecting Mary's marriage treaty; the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion; and the reception of Philip when he came to claim his bride and the kingdom of England as his future Sovereignty. The less important events will be gathered up in chronological order before we narrate Philip's reception.

The first important act of White's mayoralty was the trial of State prisoners then in custody at the Tower: for after Mary's first Parliament had been held, those Councillors of Edward who had favoured the sovereignty of Lady Jane Grey had to be punished. Accordingly a special Commission was issued to Sir Thomas White, the Duke of Norfolk, and others for the trial of Cranmer, Lady Jane Grey, her husband (Guilford), and others, which Commission was opened at Guildhall on the 13th November. White would then learn, if he did not know before, the names of those members of his Company who had, and to what extent, committed themselves in favour of Lady Jane Grey. The principal documentary evidence consisted of three instruments:—²

1. The will of Edward VI in favour of Lady Jane Grey.

2. The engagement of Cranmer and others to maintain the will.

3. The Letters Patent of the King of the 21st March, limiting the Crown on Lady Jane Grey to the exclusion of Mary, which letters were vouched or attested by Cranmer and others of the Council, and countersigned first by "George Barnes, Mayre," and then by (*inter alia*) these citizens:—

John Gresham (Lord Mayor in 1547); Andrew Judde (Lord Mayor in 1550); John Lamborde (Sheriff in 1551); *Thomas Offley* (Lord Mayor in 1556); William Garrard (Lord Mayor in 1555); William Huett (Lord Mayor in 1559); Robert Southwell (Sheriff of Surrey); Thomas Lodge (Lord Mayor in 1562); *Emanuel Lucar* (Master in 1560); *John Withers* (Merchant Taylors Company,

¹ Vol. I, Burleigh Papers, page 193.

² Printed in Vol. I, State Trials, page 751, Queen Jane and Queen Mary (1850), London, Camden Society.

1537); Richard Mallorie (Lord Mayor in 1564); *Richard Hilles* (Master in 1561); and several others.

As to the prisoner's defence there was none, their acts admitted of no doubt; Cranmer received a pardon for this treason, but was placed upon his trial for a more terrible crime—heresy,—and before, in those days, a more terrible tribunal—the Spiritual Court; and the others pleaded guilty and were sentenced. This sentence, after the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion, Sir Thomas Offley had to carry into execution. Lady Jane Grey (because of her Royal blood) was executed within the Tower by authority of the Constable; but "Master Thomas Offley, one of the Sheriffs," as Stow relates, "received from the Warden of the Tower on the 12th February at 10 A.M., Lord Guilford Dudley, and brought him to the scaffold to be beheaded." The office of Sheriff—which obliged the holder of it to burn the prisoners condemned by the Spiritual Courts—must have been most revolting, and, in having to carry out the execution of Guilford in whose treason he had participated, what must Offley have felt?

Then came the treaty for the marriage of Mary, which had been the subject of intrigue in her Court by those favourable to the French or Spanish party, but as the latter prevailed, the ambassadors of Spain landed at the Tower Wharf on the 2nd of January. They were lodged and had to be provisioned in different places, Durham Place in the Strand; Suffolk Place at Charing Cross; Salisbury Place by Bridewell. On the 3rd Sir Thomas White and his brethren were introduced and made them, as Wriothsley states, "great presentes of victuals," at the "cost of the Chambers." Beyond this it does not appear that Sir Thomas White entertained them. The proposed marriage was, as we know, unpopular, and hence it may be that the ambassadors were not made the guests of the citizens. While they were in this country, though the incident may not be attributable to their presence, "procession was made on the 14th (Monday) to Paules Church after the old fashion afore the high masse, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen going in procession in their violet gowns and clothes furred as they used every Sunday in Henry VIII's time, before the sermon began."¹

The marriage treaty was finally decided upon at the Council meeting of 13th January, and Sir Thomas White and the citizens

¹ Part I, pages 26-7.

were summoned to meet the Council on the next day to hear the Articles of the Treaty fully explained to them. This summons was obeyed, and after a full explanation had been given to them by the Lord Chancellor (Bishop Gardiner) they were exhorted to behave as good subjects and accept the Treaty "with humbleness and rejoicing."

In the city it might have been so received, but not in the country, for the people took alarm and rebellion broke out in various parts. That most seriously affecting the safety of London was Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising in Kent, which the Lord Chamberlain officially notified to Sir Thomas White on the 25th, although the citizens had not waited to be told of their danger, for the streets of London had been patrolled by White and his colleagues from the 23rd, and strong guards (raised in the wards) posted at the gates.

Unfortunately Wyatt was not the only traitor nor the suppression of his rebellion the only duty Sir Thomas White had to discharge so as to render the Crown secure. On the 22nd he sat as Chief Commissioner at Guildhall on the arraignment of Sir Robert Dudley, who, confessing his treason, was condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Another traitor had to be secured, and on the night of the 25th, by the Council's commandment, Sir Thomas White "secretly with the Sheriffs apprehended the Lord Marquess of Northampton lying in W. Warren's house in Carter Lane, and brought him to his owne house where he lay that night and W. Warren lay with W. Huett, Sheriff."

The defence of London against Wyatt and his followers should always claim a special interest from members of the Merchant Taylors Company, by reason of the fact that Wyatt was repulsed at the two gates where he attempted to enter by the vigilance of two of their guildsmen—by Sir Thomas White at the Bridge Gate, and by John Harris at Ludgate.

On the 27th the Lord Treasurer came from the Council to Sir Thomas White and the citizens assembled at the Guildhall, to request them to raise five hundred men to be sent immediately to aid the Queen's troops in Kent. This request was complied with, and the Merchant Taylors' Company supplied thirty men, raised by conscription (we presume) at a cost of 14*l.* 17*s.*,¹ which (as the particulars in the Appendix show) was expended in the charge of "the

¹ Appendix 5, page 355.

furniture of these men." They formed part of the city contingent sent by water to Gravesend under the command of Alexander Brett, but when they appeared before Rochester, instead of attacking Wyatt's camp, they went over to him and fought against the Queen's forces. The alarm in the city became great, for on the 31st, Wyatt advanced to Deptford, intending to enter London over its bridge, the only one, except Kingston, which connected Middlesex with the opposite side of the river.

In this aspect of affairs Mary came to the Guildhall, as we have already shown,¹ and was received by Sir Thomas White and all the commons of London in their liveries. Of what followed let us take the description from the chronicle of Wriothesley:—

"The Queens Majestie, with her Lords and Ladies ridinge from Westminster to the sayde Guildhall came thither by iij of the clocke Candlemas even (1st Feb.) First she went up to the Councell Chambre where the Alldermen used to sytt, and there pawsyd a litle, the Lord Mayre and Alldermen receavinge Her Majestie at the stepps, goeing to the Mayres Cowrt. Then Her Majestie came downe into the Great Hall up into the place of the hustinges where was hanged a riche cloth of gold; she standinge under it with her owne mowth declared to the audience there assembled the wicked pretence of the traytor Wyett which was utterlie to deprive her of her Crowne and to spoyle the cittie, which was so noblie and with so good spiritt declared and with so lowde a voyce that all the people might heare Her Majestie² and comforting their hartes with so sweete wordes that made them weepe for joye to hear Her Majestie speake. This done she came downe and went up agayne into the Councell Chamber and drank and then departed."³

The "sweete wordes" so spoken by the Queen are thus set forth by the Chronicler:—

"I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that, which already you see and know; that is, how traitorously and rebelliously a number of Kentishmen have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was for a marriage determined for us: to the which, and to all the articles thereof, ye have been made privy. But since we

¹ Page 89, *ante*. Rep. (13), page 121.

² Mary's voice the Ambassador of Venice (in 1557) described "as rough and loud almost like a man's, so that when she speaks she is heard a long way off." Cal. State Papers (1884), page 1054.

³ Rep. (13), page 121.

have caused certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and to demand the cause of this their rebellion; and it appeared then unto our said council, that the matter of the marriage seemed to be but a Spanish cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our religion; for that they arrogantly and traitorously demanded to have the governance of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our councillors.

"Now, loving subjects, what I am, ye right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realm and laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off), you promised your allegiance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all Christendom to witness. My father, as ye all know, possessed the same regal state, which now rightly is descended unto me: and to him always ye showed yourselves most faithful and loving subjects: and therefore I doubt not, but ye will show yourselves [such] likewise to me, and that ye will not suffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our person, and to occupy our estate, especially being so vile a traitor as Wyat is; who most certainly, as he hath abused mine ignorant subjects which be on his side, so doth he intend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoil of your goods.¹ And I say to you, on the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any; but certainly, if a prince and governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects, as the mother doth love the child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you. And I, thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me; and then I doubt not but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

"As concerning the marriage, ye shall understand, that I enterprised not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of all our privy council, who so considered and weighed the great commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but also expedient, both for the wealth of the realm, and also of you our subjects. And as touching myself, I assure you, I am not so bent to my will, neither so precise nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure I would

¹ How he intended the spoil of their goods, it appeareth not, in that he, coming to Southwark, did hurt neither man, woman, nor child, neither in body, nor in a penny of their goods.

choose where I lust, or that I am so desirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the praise therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing, but with God's grace, I am able so to live still. But if, as my progenitors have done before, it may please God that I might leave some fruit of my body behind me, to be your governor, I trust you would not only rejoice thereat, but also I know it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this marriage were to the hurt of any of you my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal state of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And on the word of a queen, I promise you that if it shall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that the marriage shall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abstain from marriage while I live.

"And now, good subjects, pluck up your hearts, and, like true men, stand fast against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my lord Howard, and my lord treasurer, who shall be assistants with the mayor for your defence."

Their effect was to lead the citizens to rally round her throne, and on the 2nd February they raised 1,000 men, householders of the City and volunteers, well harnessed, to defend the City, Sir Thomas White and "the Aldermen, every one in his ward taking the command of them." The times were so urgent that the going to the service at St. Paul's (notes, Wriothesley¹) was even left, and also the Lord Mayor's officers "served him at dinner that day in harness;" and Stow adds with greater amazement, that even the lawyers at Westminster "did plead in harness."

The contribution made by the Company to this force was a corps of 60 men, which (as the entry states) "kept London Bridge continually during the time that the rebels of Kent lay in Southwark." The cost of "furniture" is given in the Appendix, and amounted to a total sum of 59*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*, but then they had, what we have no doubt was, a convivial meeting at the close of their labours, for "a dinner was made to them at the 'Sun,' in Cornhill, at a cost of 1*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*"²

Whether the Taylors wore their armour is not recorded, but the account books shew these expenses of preparation:

¹ Vol. 2, page 109.

² Appendix 5, page 355.

"To Bylby, armourer, for mending and cleaning the armour in the armoury, and for leather, buckles, and oil, 20s.

"A new frame in the armoury to hang harness upon 13s. 4d. To Sir George Barnes, Alderman, for 28 morris pikes, 16*d.* a piece," besides the several equipments of the 30 soldiers and 60 volunteers, which are given separately.

The shops and windows of the citizens were all ordered to be closed, and each man was to be ready harnessed at his door "what chance so now to happen."

On the 3rd Wyatt approached the city from Southwark. Houses as we know stood upon the bridge, with the chapel of St. Thomas under the centre arch, the division of the two counties and of the two dioceses.¹ On each end of the bridge there stood a fortified gate house. The gate on the Southwark side was closed, but on the night of the 3rd, Wyatt, from a wall of an adjacent house, scaled the entrance and surprised the keepers. He then proceeded to reconnoitre, and found that to make his entrance to the city impossible the drawbridge had been cut down and thrown into the river, besides the approach being fortified and guarded. Then seeing Sir Thomas White acting in concert with Lord W. Howard and Sir Andrew Judde, in readiness to receive his attack, he returned to his followers in Southwark and marched off to Kingston on the 4th February.²

This repulse was what Wyatt little expected, for the desertion of Brett and his contingent at Rochester had led him to believe that the citizens would open their gates to him and declare in his favour. He then resolved to attempt an entrance at the west end of London, where he might meet with less resistance, therefore he crossed into Middlesex by the Kingston Bridge and marched through the western suburbs without opposition. But his attempt on Ludgate was defeated by another Merchant Taylor, John Harris, whose ancestor was probably either the benefactor of 1522, who gave the Company property in Thames Street, or of 1520 (both of his surname) who gave the Company the "Bell" (now 40, Ludgate Hill), in Bowyer Row, St. Martin's.

Ludgate, to which Wyatt made his approach, stood then and until 1760 (when it was pulled down and the materials sold for 148*l.*), across the Hill, between the Old Bailey and St. Martin's

¹ Chronicles of London Bridge, page 332. Rep. (13), page 122.

² See the description of Cade's attack on the bridge in 1450 at Vol. 3, Holin., page 225.

Church. What happened on this—the last day of the Rebellion—let the “Chronicler of the Grey Friars” relate :

“[The vij.] day Wyet with hys host came un-to the parke besyde sent James and soo wolde [have entered, and there] most traytours shott at the corte gattes that the arres stoke there longe after. And he hymselfe came in at Te[m]ple Bar, and] soo downe alle Fletstrete, and soo un-to the Belle savage. And then was hys trayne [attacked at] the commandment of the erle of Pembroke and sartayne of hys men slayne. And whan [he saw] that Ludgatte was shutt agayne hym he departyd, saynge “I have kepte towche, and soo went [back] agayne; and by the Tempulle barre he was tane, and soo browght by watter unto the [tower] of London. And then alle the qwens host came thorow London goodly in arraye with sperys. And that same day was tane one William Albryght parson of Kyngstone besyde Barrame downe, precher of the gosselle, besyde Charynge crosse in this rebellyone. Also it is to be supposed that Wyett hadde come in at Ludgat had not *one John Harres¹ a merchant-taylor* in Watlynge stret [ha]d not sayd, “I know that theys be Wyettes ancientes;” but some were very anggre wyth him because he sayd soo, but at hys worddes the gattes ware shutte.”²

And now that the rebels were repulsed, other duties of a different, but not less responsible nature, had to be discharged by White. The prisoners taken were traitors, and had to be punished after some form of trial. A commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued for a special sessions at the Old Bailey, to the Lord Mayor and other justices, which opened on the 10th February. Conviction was speedy, for “on the *same* day were condemned for treason eighty-two persons of Kent and other places,” and execution by Sir Thomas Offley and his colleague followed as speedily as conviction. Brett and some others were sent to Kent for execution, but let the narrative of the London executions and of the pardons granted be given by Machyn :

“The xij day of February was mad at evere gate in Lundun a newe payre of galaus and set up, ij payre in Chepesyde, ij payr in Fletstrett, one in Smythfyld, one payre in Holborne, one at Ledyn-hall, one at sant Magnus London [-bridge], on at Peper allay gatt, one at sant Gorgeus, on in Barunsay strett, on on Tower

¹ We had two freemen by apprenticeship of this name. One by Elizabeth Garrett, 18th September, 1542, the other by Thomas Howe, 18th January, 1543.

² This hasty shutting of Ludgate is referred to in the Venetian Papers (12th May, 1556), Cal. St. Papers (482).

hulle, one payre at Charyngcrosse, on payre besyd Hyd parke corner.

“The xiiij day of Feybruary wher hangyd at evere gatt and plasse: in Chepe-syd vj; Algatt j, quartered; at Leydynhall iij; at Bysshope-gatt on, and quartered; Morgatt one; Crepullgatt one; Aldersgatt on, quartered; Nuwgat on, quartered; Ludgatt on; Belyngat iij hanged; Sant Magnus iij hangyd; Towre hyll ij hangyd; Holborne iij hangyd; Flettstret iij hangyed; at Peper alley gat iij; Barunsaystret iij; Sant Gorgus iij; Charyng crosse iiij; on Boyth the fottman, and Vekars of the gard, and ij moo; at Hyddparke corner iij, on Polard a waterbeyrar; theys iij hanges in chynes; and but vij quartered, and ther bodys and heds set a-pon the gattes of London.”

“The xxij day of Feybruary alle the Kent men whent to the cowrt with halters a-bowt ther nekes, and bone with cordes, ij and ij together, through London to Westmynster, and be-twyn the ij tyltes the powr presonars knelyd downe in the myre, and ther the Quen(’s) grace lokyd owt over the gatt and gayff them all pardon, and thay cryd owt ‘God save quen Mare!’ and so to Westmynster hall, and ther thay cast ther alters a-bowt the hall, and capes, and in the stretes, and cryd owt ‘God save quen Mare!’”

The story of Wyatt’s rebellion cannot be closed without referring to the circumstances of his alleged confession, and the part taken by Sir Thomas White when such was brought to his knowledge. Wyatt’s execution was to take place on Tower Hill on the 11th February, under the charge of the Sheriffs of London, and on that morning he was, at his own request, taken to Courtenay and remained with him alone for one hour, no one knowing, says Stow, “what passed thereat.” Those who like Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, were “capital enemies” to the Lady Elizabeth, declared Wyatt’s purpose to be to exhort Courtenay to confess his guilt, implicating Elizabeth, thereby to obtain the Queen’s pardon: but others, that it was to confess his own guilt, in having endeavoured to screen himself by implicating Courtenay and Elizabeth, and to obtain Courtenay’s pardon.

Whatever actually passed will ever remain unknown; but what people are likely to suppose as having passed, will be gathered up from other circumstances. However, upon the scaffold Wyatt “openlie in the hearing of all the people declared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtenay to be freë and innocent from all suspicion of his rebellion.” This is a fact undoubted, and further

that Dr. Weston (a chaplain intruded upon him by Mary) warned the people "not to believe Wyatt, as he had stated otherwise before the Council." The execution over, news of these incidents was brought to Sir Thomas White—then dining at the Bridge House—"Said Weston so?" quoth he, "I never took him otherwise but for a knave."

There the matter would possibly have ended, had not an apprentice (Cut)¹ dwelling in St. Lawrence Poultney Lane, discussed the matter with a plasterer (Denham) which, reaching Gardiner's ears, Sir Andrew Judde was despatched for White to bring the parties before the "Star" Chamber.

White appeared with them, and there the character of the charge was altered to one against White for having allowed any citizens to remain unpunished, who had alleged that the Council had urged Courtenay to accuse Elizabeth of complicity in this rebellion.

"If the partie making such statement deserve punishment," said White, "then let the Star Chamber punish now, having him before them;" but the meeting ended in an angry speech from Gardiner. "My Lord," addressing White, "take heed to your charge, the City of London is a whirlepoole and a sinke of all evil rumours; there they be bred and from thence spread unto all parts of the Realme."

We will now gather up the official acts of Sir Thomas White, from the capture of Wyatt to the arrival of Philip, in order of date, and divide them into those which are of less or more importance.

The first of the former was a Proclamation on the 17th February, which the Queen put forth for all strangers to leave the Realm. In the late reign learned men had been brought over from Europe to fill places in the Church and Universities, and the object of Mary's Council was to get rid of "this multitude of evil disposed persons" who were infecting her good subjects with heresy; therefore the Proclamation bade all preachers, printers, booksellers, or artificers, not being merchants known, within twenty-four days to depart the Realm, and the Lord Mayor after the twenty-four days was to arrest the same. Following upon this, on the 4th March, the Queen's articles were sent to Sir Thomas White, and on the 5th his precept was issued to each Alderman, bidding him to call before him on the 7th at 7 A.M., all the householders and

¹ Richard Cut and Thos. Pender were placed in the Pillory, 29 April, for false lies and most slanderous and seditious words against the Queen. L. B. 293 (b), Rep. (13), page 153.

residents of his Ward, of the age of twelve or upwards, for the admonishing them at Easter and henceforth, to follow the Catholic religion, and to report the names of those failing to observe this injunction.

But the times were evil and the Sovereign was not safe in the best protection for her Crown—the goodwill of her subjects. Few Guards were in pay, but at his coronation in 1485 Henry VII had raised one hundred “Yeomen” to protect the Palace, and Henry VIII in 1509, constituted a corps of fifty Gentlemen-at-Arms to protect his person, but Mary needed more than these to defend “Her Grace,” and the City granted 6,000 marks and the Merchant Taylors Company 100*l.*, as this entry shows:—

“21st March. To the Lord Chamberlain of London towards the payment of 2,000 marks, to be given to the Queen towards the maintenance of a garrison of men of war, which Her Grace intendeth to keep near this City for the defence of Her Grace and this her City, 100*l.*”

The destruction of three bowling alleys, one of his less important acts, as recorded by Wriothesley, needs some explanation. Before the introduction of “Bowls,” the national sport was “Archery.”¹ The “great numbers and multitude of good archers” had not only defended the Realm, but had done notable acts of war against the infidels; indeed, had “subdued and reduced divers regions and countries to their due obeysance to this Realm.” “It is the gift of God,” said Latymer at Paul’s Cross, “that he had given us to excel all other nations with it. It hath been God’s instrument, whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies.” “The loving brother of the Myserie, John Stow,”² laments “that the antient daily exercises in the long bow by citizens in this age,” was in his time “now almost clean left off and forsaken” . . . “Our archers, for want of room to shoot abroad, creep into bowling alleys and ordinary dicing houses near home, where they have room enough to hazard their money at such awful games.” Anything, therefore, that drew men off from this noble sport was regarded with jealousy.

The game of bowls is said to have originated in England as early as the thirteenth century, and was played upon an open

¹ See Henry VIII, c. 3 (preamble), and to the Acts of this reign.

² Survey (Ed. 1842), page 40. Mulcaster’s Positions, chap. 26.

green. When land became valuable in London, bowling alleys—long strips of covered ground—were appropriated to the game. These bowling alleys needed the license of the Crown, which from a precedent extant, ran in these words: “to keep a bowling alley and place for other games, for the use of all honest persons; almaner apprentices, vagabonds and other barothers, and mysruled persons only except.”¹ Nevertheless, these places were obnoxious to the Lord Mayor and to the better class of citizens for two reasons: 1stly. They attracted idle and dissolute persons there. 2ndly. They led off the citizens from more manly sports, upon which our national supremacy depended, as archery, wrestling, etc. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries bowling alleys were unanimously decried, and long before² Strutt wrote, they had absolutely disappeared from London. To root out these alleys was the purpose of Sir Thomas White, and this is Wriothesley’s entry:—³

“14th December in the afternoon the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs went to these three bowling allies, that is to say, Northumberland Alley by Aldgate, St. Nicholas’ Shambles alley, and an alley in the old Bailey, and with maddocks did breake and digge up all the said alleys;” so there was no half measure of performance in this duty.

The next entry has reference to the necessities of the poor of London. The winter was bitterly cold, fuel ran short, and was at an excessive price. In later years there was a proper supply laid in during the summer for winter use, but no such civic foresight had yet been exercised. This is Wriothesley’s statement:—

“This yere, about Christenmas and after, wodd and coles was at excessive and highe prices in London by scarcitie thereof. For billettis at xx s. a . . . and above. And coles of the cart were sold at x d. the sack, and horse coles at xiiii and xv d. a sacke. The faggots at v s. and vi s. the c and above. Wherefore the Lord Maior caused lighters of sea coles to be sold at Billingsgate and Quenehith for iiii d. the busshell, which greatlie helped tyll better provision might be fownde.”⁴

The Company’s accounts show that the cost of this provision fell upon the city, thus:—

¹ Dom. Cal., page 47 (1535, November 17th, 26 Henry VIII.).

² Sports and Pastimes (1801), London.

³ Vol. 2, page 105. See a similar visit by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs in 1550, to the howling alleys at Pawles Wharf and Aldgate.—*Id.*, page 43.

⁴ Rep. 13, page 97, L. B. 291 (b).

“17th March. To the collectors of the parish of St. Martin’s, Outwich, for a fifteenth granted towards the provision of sea coals for the poor, 13s. 4d.

Notwithstanding it was intended to overawe the citizens by Her Grace’s guard, it is certain that their discontent found expression during White’s mayoralty, and this incident illustrates the ill feeling that was working in the minds of the citizens, which called forth a proclamation, but with no result:—

“Sunday the 8 of Aprill was a villanouse fact done in Cheape earlie or daye. A dead catt havinge a clothe lyke a vestment of the priest at masse with a crosse on it afore, and another behinde put on it; the crowne of the catt shorne, a peece of paper lyke a singinge cake putt betwene the forefeete of the said catte bownd together, which catt was hanged on the post of the gallowes in Cheape beyond the Crosse in the parishe of St. Matthewe, and a bottle hanged by it; which catt was taken downe at vi of the clock in the morninge and caried to the Bishop of London, and he caused it to be shewed openlye in the sermon tyme at Paules Crosse in the sight of all the audience there present.”

“The Lord Mayre, with his bretheren the alldermen of the Cittie of London, caused a proclamation to be made that after-noone that whosoever could utter or shewe the auctor of the sayde fact should haue vi l. xiii s. iv d. for his paynes, and a better rewarde, with hartie thancks. But at that tyme, after much enquirie and searche made, it could not be knowne, but diverse persons were had to prison for suspicion of it.”¹

It appears to be the better opinion that the hand-gun discharged near St. Vedast’s Church, in Foster Lane, across the open street of West Cheap, from which the shot fell near to Sir Thomas White at St. Paul’s during Dr. Pendleton’s sermon, was discharged by accident and not by design; at any rate the incident did not alarm him, as he stayed out the service before taking any measures to arrest the offender; although to prevent a recurrence of such surprises, an order was issued on the 22nd June, against shooting with hand-guns, and also against bearing weapons.² The account of this incident is thus given:—

“The xth of June, beinge Sundaye, an handgun was shott of neare to St. Paules Churchyard in the sermon tyme, the pellett hittinge the church wall next where the Lord Mayre satt, and

¹ L. B. 290 (b), Rep. 13, page 147.

² Grey Friars Chronicle, page 90.

after fell on a mans shoulder, and taken up and delyvered to the Lord Mayre; and after the sermon was done, searche was made all about the precinct of Paules in everie howse, but no knowledge could be fownd but that a gonne was shott in Foster Lane neare St. Fausters Church. But the partie that shott it (by reporte) fled, and within vi dayes after was taken and examined afore the Lord Mayre and sent to prison, and divers witnesse allso examined for the same, which agreed not one with another, and the partie allso himselfe denieinge that he shott anye, nor no gun could be founde in the howsse that the reporte was spoken where it should be shott. So that after x or xii dayes imprisonment he was bayled upon suerties, and bound to be forthcomminge at all tymes when he should be sent for; and so was discharged out of warde."¹

Of the matters of greater importance first must be mentioned the trial of those who were arraigned at the Guildhall, as traitors or rebels. So far as we can trace, these were Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, on the 17th April, who was acquitted; Sir James Croft and Winter on the 29th April; William Thomas on the 17th May; who were condemned and executed by Sir Thomas Offley.

The acquittal of Throgmorton brings to notice the conduct of another guildsman. Emanuel Lucar (who was Warden when Offley was Master in 1547) had to serve as one of the jury, and failing with his colleagues on the jury to find the prisoner guilty, they were summoned to the Star Chamber on St. Mark's Day, and committed to prison—Lucar to the Tower, and the rest to the Fleet.

Four of them submitted themselves and were released, but Lucar (like an honest gentleman) said openly before the Lords of the Star Chamber, "that they had done in the matter like honest men and true and faithful subjects, and therefore they besought the Lords that they might be discharged, as they were all contented to submit themselves to their Majesties, saving and reserving their truth, consciences, and honesties."² These words were taken "in evil part" by the Lords. some of whom said that Lucar and Whetson ought to pay a fine of 1,000*l.* each, and others said 1,500*l.*, and the remaining six persons only 500*l.* The assessment made by the Lord Chancellor was that each should pay 1,000 marks, with imprisonment at pleasure.³

In November, 1554, the Sheriffs (Sir Thomas Offley had then

¹ Rep. 13, page 174.

² The conventional term used for the offering made (whatever the amount) by the chief mourner at a funeral.

³ Rep. 13, page 186 (*b*), and Vol. I, State Trials, page 901.

left office) were ordered to take an inventory of their goods, and to seal up the doors of their houses forthwith. So matters continued until a smaller fine was paid, and they were delivered out of prison on St. Thomas's Day.

In June earnest preparations were made for the reception of Philip, and on the 4th, Sir Thomas White had all the gibbets taken down from London and its suburbs, which had remained there since February, "and might have stood longer still had it not been very convenient to have them out of sight upon the triumphal entrance of Philip." Then the fair Cross in Cheap was repaired and gilded, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, laid upon the Commons a fifteenth subsidy to prepare the city against his coming.¹ To this the Merchant Taylors Company made its contribution, thus, "to Thomas Vance and John Bushe, collectors of the Parish of St. Martin's Outwich, for a fifteenth granted for and towards the making of Pageants against the coming hither of the Prince of Spain, 20s."

But the marriage found no favour with the people, and therefore, it was ordered that two Aldermen should watch every night, and one or two constables, till three or four in the morning, for fear of some disturbances among the citizens. The cross, too, had to be covered after its redecoration, "for the preserving it from soil after it was done, that its splendid appearance might be preserved for the joyful day."²

Holinshed, writing thus, describes one contribution made to Philip's welcome:—"And one thing by the waie I cannot let pass touching the young flourishing rood newlie set up against this present time to welcome King Philip in Paule's Church, the setting up of which rood was this and may make as good a pageant as the best (Anno 2 Mariæ): Boner in his royalties and all his prebendaries about him in Paule's quire, the rood laid along upon the pavement and also all doores of Paule's being shut, the Bishop with others said and sung divers prayers by the rood. That being done, they anointed the roode with oile in divers places and after the anointing crept unto it and kissed it. And after that they toke the said roode and raised him up and set him in his old accustomed place, and all the while they were doing thereof the whole quire sang *Te Deum*, and when that was ended they rang the bells,

¹ See entries in Rep. 13, page 158 (b) to 170.

² Memo., Strype, Vol. 3, Part 1, page 200.

not only for joy but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein."

The preparations being complete, Philip arrived at Southampton on the 20th July, tidings coming to Sir Thomas White on the same day, and "on the next day by 10 of the clock," his arrival was proclaimed throughout London and "every Peer and Lord and Lady invited to hasten to Winchester to the Queen's wedding." White did not leave London, but commanded that every man should make a bonfire in every street, so that there were "mony plases had tabeels and plenty of good liquor for all comers till 10 at night, and singing and playing." The Lord Mayor did not receive the Prince in the city until the 19th August.

On St. James's Day, 25th, the Queen was married at Winchester, and after visiting Windsor, Hampton Court, and Richmond, she came with Philip from the latter place by water in the afternoon of the 17th August, and landed at the stairs of St. Mary's Overie, staying at Winchester House for a banquet given them by the Lord Chancellor (Gardiner). From thence they passed "through the park to St. George's, of which Sir John Gage had the keeping, and there lay that night and dined there the next day." Thus the Grey Friars' Chronicle narrates their entry into London on the 19th:—

" . . . they were goodly resevyed with many pagenttes as furst at the brige fotte, and alle the howses on the brige new paynted whyt and yellow, and in Grachhed strett a goodly pagent and costly; and another in Cornelle; and one at the Gret Condet and at the standerd the wayttes of London playnge; and the crosse in Cheppe new gylytd and that costly, and the genologe of hym at the Lyttyll Condet; and alle the crafftes of London¹ stondynge be the way in their best aparelle in alle the strettes as he came goodly hangyd, and soo to Powlles; and there was goodly resevyd of the byshopp wyth the prebenders and the holi qweer of Powlles, and soo into the qwere, and there was *Te Deum* songe. And there was one came downe from the chapter-howse upon a roppe. And soo departyd un-to Westmyster. And Ludgatte new payntyd. And a pagent in Fletstret at the cundet. And so un-to the pallys of Whythhalle."

Either the entry of Philip and Mary, or some other cause had filled London with idle or masterless men as they were called

¹ They were summoned by the Lord Mayor, and the Queen sent a letter of thanks for their attendance.—L. B., 303 and 304 (b).

in the proclamation, for on the 17th September, the Lord Mayor put forth an order that all such should depart from out the city in five days.¹

Sir Thomas White does not seem to have dined or entertained Philip and Mary during his mayoralty, but on the 30th September, just on the eve of relinquishing office, when the Lord Chancellor preached at St. Paul's, and divers Lords of the Council were present, they all afterwards "went to dynner at the Lord Mayor's Howsse."

There is little more to be written of White's mayoralty, save that his year was not one of any great festivity, but is rather notable for being that in which the Corporation made an attempt to restrain the sumptuary excesses of their fellow citizens. Earlier ordinances had been put forth to reform the excess of expenditure "in Mayors' and Sheriffs' houses and at the Mayors' feasts," showing thereby, "that the antient wise and prudent forefathers" had striven with this evil.² But "as the expenses of the Mayoralty and Shrievalties were then (1554) so huge and great, that almost all good citizens fly, and refuse to serve the Honourable City, only because of this great excess," these prohibitory laws were enacted:—³

That Mayors or Sheriffs should not be served "at their houses at dinner or supper with more courses than one."

" . . . that neither they nor any of them shall have at one time any moe sundry dishes of meat at that one course upon the Sunday, or other festival days, being a flesh day, than six, whither the same be hot or cold; and one or two of the same six dishes to come to the board hot as a reward if they will, after the first three or five are served to the board. And upon every holyday, being a fish day, at their said one course, seven divers dishes of meats, and not above. And at the same one course every working day, being a flesh day, five dishes, and not above; and every working day, being a fish day, at their said one course, six dishes of several meats, and not above."

" . . . that neither brawn, collops with eggs, sallads, pottage, butter, cheese, eggs, herrings, spratts, shrimps, or any shell-

¹ 4 Holinshed, page 64.

² See the Petition of the citizens (14 Feb., 1535) to diminish the expenses of the Shrievalty, as thereby Dogget, Nynes, and others had been reduced to extreme poverty; and others, as Withypoll, had discharged themselves by oath, besides Acton, had made suit to be discharged by patent or letters missive. Vol. VIII, page 78 (208), Cat. of Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.

³ Hugh, London, vol. I, page 135, and see also similar orders in 1573, Book 5, page 34, Stow.

fish, nor no kind of fruit unbaked shall be accounted for any of the said number of dishes of meats above-mentioned. Provided also, that the lord maior of this city for the time being may always, both working day and holyday, at his pleasure, have and be served at his said one course, with one dish of meat, either of fish or flesh, more than is before limited and appointed by this present act and ordinance."

The diet of the Lord Mayor's officers is then set out.

An Alderman's diet was to be that of the Sheriff, and the feasts of the guilds were to be regulated by the same standard with this further prohibition:—

" that there be no swan, crane, nor bustard, which were wont to be called headpooles, shall be spent at any feast kept in any of the halls of any companies upon the pain of forfeiture for every such offence, *toties quoties*, forty shillings.'

The feast of the morrow of St. Symon and St. Jude was then regulated:

" as well for the ease and commodity of the aged persons, as also for the avoiding of the great unquietness that often happens at the said feasts, from henceforth a certain convenient number of the clothing, as well of the principal crafts, as of the meaner companies, which were accustomed to dine at the mayor's feast, shall be abated; and there shall remain to dine at the said feast a certain number of every such company, as hath been accustomed to dine at the said feast, the number whereof shall be yearly appointed by the lord mayor, and his brethren the alderman of the said city for the time being; and shall be served at the said feast but with one course, and but six dishes in the said course of one mess, beside the brawn, if it be on a flesh day; and if it fall on a fish day, then to have seven dishes at a mess, besides butter, eggs, and such like, as is above recited and declared. Provided always that when it shall happen any ambassador, or any of the privy council to be at the said feast that then, for their board only, to be amended and ordered by the discretion of the said mayor and sheriffs for that time being; and no banquet after dinner to be had, except *ipocras* and *wafers*, as in time past hath been used."

The festival dinners theretofore kept by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs in their several houses at Whitsun and Bartholomew's days were to be laid down, and the Lord of Misrule was not to be kept, as—

“ . . . from henceforth there shall no wyth¹ be fet home neither at the mayors nor sheriffs houses ; neither shall they keep any lord of misrule in any of their said houses.”

With these regulations originated the allowance (so reasonable) of a grant of 100*l.* “out of the common store and treasure of the city towards the expenses of the Mayor and Sheriffs’ *feast*, which has since been extended to a grant for the *general expenses* of the mayoralty.’

But although no great dinners are recorded which White attended, there is on eat a funeral which is worth notice. In this year died Sir Henry Amcote—a Fishmonger, who had been Lord Mayor in the year in which White quitted office as Sheriff, and White attended his funeral. Where the body was buried is not recorded, but the funeral banquet a “grete dener as youe have sene now a dayes,” was held in the hall of the company, and the ceremony is thus described by Machyn :—

“ . . . Fyssmongers halle hangyd with blake and with armes ; [then] came the standard and then mornares ; and then [came] ys armes, and then a harold bayryng ys cot armur . . . master Clarenshws the kyng at armes in ys ryche cote ; then cam the corsse, and a-bowtt the corsse iiij mo penons, and a-bott xxiiij torchys bornyng, and ij goodly whytt branchys, . . . and cam mornars the sward-berrer, my lord mayre, and [the alder]men mornars, and the resedue of them in vyolett, and then . . . boyth men and women ; and so to the chyrche, and then on ha . . . prahynge for ys solle, and then began the durge and . . . pepull whent to the halle to drynke boyth spysse and wyn ; and the morow mass of *requiem* ; and after they offered furst ys cot armur, and after cam the harold and . . . offered ys target ; and after ij offered ys sword ; and after ij morn[ers] ys elmet with crest ; and then the mayre offered, and the altherman, and the mornars, and the craft ; and, all done, master doctur Smyth

¹ *Wyth*, signifies a *wand* ; the wyth is supposed to be an ancient custom of delivering wands at public festivities, with cake and wine to all comers. This custom is only retained now at the parochial perambulations to ascertain the bounds, on Ascension Day. In the city of Norwich, still exists a practice on the annual election of sheriffs, of parading the streets with an uncouth wicker image, denominated *Snap* ; a tutelar lord of misrule among the rabble.

¹ As to these, see Fairholt’s *Lord Mayor’s Pageants*, Vol. 10, Percy Society Publications, page 157.

dyd pryche ; and when masse was don then offered the standard and the v penonesse of armes ; and after to the Fyssmongars hall to dener ; and my lord mayre and the althermen and all the mornars ; [and] ther was a grett dener as youe have sene now a [days].”

Sir Thomas White, as the last act of his mayoralty, appears also to have put forth a proclamation in May, 1554, against the games, morris dances, and interludes.¹

It may be well that we should notice before passing on to other matters that the only two recorded utterances of Sir Thomas White occur in this year.² In the first he expressed his estimate of Dr. Weston's³ character, which, judged by subsequent events, was not far wrong. White probably knew him as the rector of St. Botolph Bishopsgate, but when White's speech was made, he was also the Dean of Westminster, the Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, and high in favour with Queen Mary. He was a strong Romanist, and held in contempt the new learning. However, White, being no respecter of persons, and believing him to be a knave, frankly said so. Weston's subsequent deprivation of the Deanery of Windsor by the Cardinal Archbishop Pole for adultery, and his imprisonment in the Tower when escaping to Rome are some evidence of White's prescience.

The other instance was on his appearance before the Star Chamber, that tribunal which, of all others, was the most unjust and arbitrary. In White's speech there was no trace of fear or subserviency to the Judges of the Court, but as one brought before them he challenged their judgment to punish if punishment were deserved, and the angry words of Gardiner he permitted to pass unnoticed.

¹ Letter Book (City Records), folio 296.

² Page 127 *ante*.

³ Student of Balliol, 1526 ; B.A. and Fellow of Lincoln, 1526 ; Proctor, Rector of Lincoln, 1538 ; Margaret Professor, 1544 ; Rector of Bishopsgate, 1544 ; Arch-deacon of Colchester and Rector of Cliff, Kent, January, 1553 ; Dean of Westminster and Prolocutor of Convocation, 1553 ; the Moderator at Cranmer and Ridley's trial, 1554 ; Dean of Windsor, 1556 ; deprived by Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, for adultery, 1557 ; imprisoned in the Tower till death, December, 1558.

CHAPTER XII.

HILLES AND WHITE TO THE CLOSE OF MARY'S REIGN.

Legislation of Mary's reign, p. 139.—Hilles suspected, p. 140.—His friends Coverdale and Hooper summoned before the Council, p. 140.—Hooper sent to the Fleet, p. 141.—Treatment there, p. 141.—Hilles' aid to him, p. 141.—Hooper's letter, p. 142.—Hooper condemned, p. 142.—Taken to Gloucester, p. 142.—Burnt there, p. 143.—Hilles conformed, p. 143.—Remonstrance of Salkeyns (his servant), p. 143.—Hilles elected Warden, p. 144.—Annual Feasts of the Company, p. 145.—White's life, p. 145.—Foundation of St. John's, Oxford, p. 146.—Death of his first wife, p. 146.—Present at the Feast of 1557, p. 147.—Re-marriage with Lady Warren, p. 147.—Marriage settlement, p. 148.—Loan to the Queen, p. 148.—Master of Court of Requests, p. 148.—The esteem of his fellow citizens, p. 149.—Hilles as Warden, p. 149.—Controversy with the Clothworkers, p. 149.

WE must now revert to the life of Hilles and shew the evil consequences which resulted to him and to his friends of the *new* learning from the accession of Mary; for it need scarcely be written that the ecclesiastical policy of her reign was the reversal of the policy of Edward's and mainly in three principles.

(1.) The suppression of free enquiry and discussion by reviving the former laws against the Lollards and heretics.

(2.) The abolition of the English service books, and the restoration of public worship as it was observed in the last year of Henry VIII's reign.

(3.) The re-establishment of the authority of the Pope of Rome over the English Church.

The reconciliation with Rome¹ and the supremacy of the Pope gave rise to questions affecting the plunder of the church revenues, at least if those of the monasteries, religious houses, and churches collegiate were to be considered such, during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Was this property to be restored? and if so how and to whom was such restoration to be made? Were the new bishoprics or schools which had been endowed out of such revenues to be disendowed, and were all sales and conveyances which had been made by the Crown for valuable consideration to purchasers to be annulled? The course which Parliament, with the sanction

¹ As to the Mass on St. Andrew's Day, 1554, in celebration of the Re-union.—Stanley's Westminster Abbey, page 228.

of the Papal legate, took was to declare that the title of all bishoprics, cathedral churches, hospitals, or college schools which had been established should be thereby (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 8, sec. 9) confirmed, as also all institutions to benefices. These provisions offered no relief or security to lay grantees or purchasers, and therefore the statute declared that all persons having a sufficient conveyance of the said (church) lands, hereditaments, goods, or chattels by the common law or statute of the realm, might without scruple of conscience enjoy them without impeachment or trouble by pretence of any council, canon, or ecclesiastical law and free from all dangers of the censures of the Roman Church.

The effect, therefore, of the statute upon the sales made by the Crown to the Merchant Taylors Company of obits granted by the Act for Chauntries Collegiate to pious uses was to confirm the title of the Company, and to place these sales beyond impeachment at the suit of former owners.

Without going further into the details of these matters or of the religious persecutions carried out during Mary's reign, it is sufficient to say that the changes were not acceptable to the English people and that the number of capital punishments inflicted by order of the Spiritual Court has made the reign one of ill favour to most of our fellow citizens.

The conspicuous part taken by Hilles in support of Lady Jane Grey's accession to the throne, and his earlier character being so well known to Stephen Gardiner,¹ must during Mary's reign have rendered him a citizen whose doings were to be closely watched: therefore, no letters to Bullinger are found, and it is more than doubtful whether any were written; for after the reign was over (in February, 1559), he explains to Bullinger "as long as our superstitious Queen Mary reigned in this country I was so afraid for my property and of getting into danger, yea, even for my life itself, that I scarcely dared to write to persons of grave character or to receive letters from them." We must therefore gather such incidents of his life as we can discover from other sources.

The two distinguished men against whom persecution was first directed were Hilles' friends, Hooper and Coverdale, to each of whom on the same day (22nd August, 1553), letters were sent for his appearance before the Lords of the Council. Coverdale's

¹ Winchester House, in which he resided, was at the Southwark end of London Bridge, on which Hilles resided.

case was soon disposed of, he was deprived of the Bishopric of Exeter, and though he survived the reign he never would return to his See.

Hooper's case was sad in all its incidents, and must have seriously grieved Hilles. As Bishop he made his first personal appearance before the Council at Richmond on the 29th August, and on the 1st September he was committed to the Fleet Prison.

Of his treatment there Hooper has left his own record¹: "Almost ever since my imprisonment I have had no living² nor goods to sustain myself withal, yet such hath been the favour of our Heavenly Father that I have had sufficient to eat and drink and the same paid for."

"The Warden" he again writes, "hath stripped him [Hooper's servant] out of his clothes to search for letters and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good people's names that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also the Warden delivered the same bill unto the said Steven Gardiner, God's enemy and mine."

Can we reasonably doubt that amongst "those good people" who succoured the prisoner was to be found the name of Richard Hilles; for of Hilles' benevolence Strype writes thus:—"The sustainers of the prisoners of the gospel and of such as were fled abroad for religion were not known, their names being strictly concealed for their safety in those times. Yet some of them who by many clothes and provisions administered to their necessities were those whose names I have collected and set down here in grateful and lasting memory of their good deeds, inter alia:—

"Richard Springham ³	} Merchants of London."
"John Abel ⁴	
"Richard Hilles	
"Thomas	
"George } Eaton or Heton ⁵	

Concerning Richard Hilles (he continues) "I find that in the year 1548, he was living at Strasburg, and to him Archbishop Cranmer recommended Bucer to put him in a way of coming safe

¹ Foxe, Book 10, page 647.

² Part I, page 161, *ante*.

³ He with Heton and Abel assisted Jewel in his residence at Zurich.—3 Word' Eccl. Bio., page 336. Memorials, pages 149, 177, and 591.

⁴ Pages 196-7, 203, *post*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pages 112, 117, 529, and 533. Heton was in Strasburg, July, 1558. —"Original Letters," page 183.

into England. One of his name, and I suppose the same, was Master of the Merchant Taylors Company and gave 500*l.* towards the purchase of an house called the Manor of the Rose, sometime belonging to the Duke of Buckingham, for the building of a free school, and there the great school commonly called the Merchant Taylors' School is kept.¹"

But more than this, are we wrong in appropriating to Richard Hilles the letter written by Hooper from the Fleet on the 3rd December, "to a Merchant of London by whose means he had received much comfort in his great necessities in the Fleet"?

After thanking him, Hooper writes²:—"Dear Brother,—Ask and demand of your book, the testament of Jesus Christ on these woeful and wretched days what you should think and what you should stay upon for a certain truth, and whatsoever you hear taught try it by your Book, whether it be true or false. The days are dangerous and full of peril not only for the world and worldly things, but for heaven and heavenly things. It is a trouble to lose the treasure of this life, but yet a big pain if it be kept with the offence of God We began well, preserve us until the end. I would write more often to you but I do perceive you to be at so much charges with me that I fear you would think when I write I crave. Send me nothing till I send to you first, and so tell the good men your partners, and when I need I will be bold with you."

Hooper's life was soon to be taken, for on the 22nd, 28th, and 29th January, he was brought before Gardiner and the Bishops at Winchester House, in St. Mary Overys, and upon the last of these days Gardiner pronounced and read a definite sentence condemning him as a heretic and delivering him to the secular courts by the hands of the Sheriffs of London (Woodroff and Chester); "who when it was dark took him over London Bridge through the citie to Newgate."

But the execution was to be carried out at Gloucester "After being degraded on the 4th at Newgate, Hooper was taken by the Sheriffs at 4 A.M. on the 5th to St. Dunstan's Church in the West, and there given over to the King's Guard to ride by easy stages to Gloucester, which he reached at about 5 P.M. on the 7th.

"On the night of the 8th, the King's Guard handed him over to

¹ Vol. III, page 1, pages 223-5, *Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials* (Mary).

² Fox, Book 10, page 672.

the Sheriffs of Gloucester, who with the Mayor and Aldermen, repaired to Maister Hooper's lodging and at the first meeting saluted him and took him by the hand."

"Maister Mayor (said Hooper), I give most hearty thanks to you and the rest of your brethren that you have vouchsafed to take me—a prisoner and a condemned man—by the hand, whereby to my rejoicing it is some deale apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished."

"And now Maister Sheriffs I understand. . . . I am committed to your custody and that the guard must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be only that there may be a quick fire shortly to make an end, and in the meantime I will be obedient to you as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss hold up your finger and I have done. For I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die, and which is well-known I might have held my life with worldly gain, but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth."

He was the next day led by the Sheriffs to execution, with a heavy guard, but when he saw the multitude of troopers "Maister Sheriffs (sayd he), I am no traytor . . . for if ye had willed me I should have gone alone to the stake and have troubled none of you all. So he went forward led between the two Sheriffs (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gowne of his hosts, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand, to stay himself withal, for the greefe of his sciatica which he had taken in prison caused him to halt."

Thus passed manfully to his execution by the horrible torment of the stake one of Richard Hilles' earliest friends, laying down his life in defence of the doctrine of the English Church.

The effect of persecution was, we believe, an enforced conformity on Hilles' part during Mary's reign. Hilles was from his own statement a man of low physical strength, of great nervous sensibility, coupled as we must have discovered with an earnest desire to live a consistent life according to the rules of the English Church, but he was not prepared to lay down his life as his friend Hooper had done, nor again to become an exile.

His servant, William Salkyns,¹ hearing of this conformity, so

¹ He was then Hilles' apprentice and was admitted to the Freedom on the 8th March, 1558.

contrary to Hilles convictions as he had known them, wrote to Bullinger from Strasburg in November, 1554, thus:—

“ . . . my duty requires me to say somewhat at this time, and to endeavour now to obtain from your piety, by letter, what I could not so readily accomplish in words when I was with you. For your telling me that from the long intimacy that formerly existed between you and my master, Richard Hilles, you felt inclined to write to him, has very often come into my mind since I left you. For I thus thought with myself: if Master Bullinger, who has so much influence, and who is so famous for learning, would insert in the letter, which he intends to write to my master a few words upon fleeing from the abomination of the mass, (by the frequenting of which in England my master is now placing his soul in jeopardy,) the result would be, that either convinced by his argument, or moved by ancient friendship, (which I know has very great weight with him,) he will yield to his exhortation above all others, and consider how he can flee away from such abominable idolatry. I thought too, that your piety would perhaps effect this object without any hint from myself; but on account of my duty and obligation to my master, the love I bear him, and the great anxiety I shall labour under, until I see him extricated and delivered from these defilements, I could not but especially bear the matter in mind, and now, most reverend sir, recall it to your remembrance. To which end I implore and entreat you by Almighty God, that when you write to him, you will not forget this; and I would wish you so to write, that no suspicion may fall upon myself as having persuaded you to do so. But when you have finished what you have to say, I will take care that the letter shall be safely conveyed to him with all diligence. Farewell.”

While Hilles was thus suffering under the evil times, others, who were his colleagues in the Court, as Sir Thomas White and Sir Thomas Offley, were, as we have seen, carrying the laws into effect.

In 1554, the time had arrived when Hilles was to be elected to hold office as Warden, and we are indebted to our brother Taylor, Henry Machyn, for an entry of the election dinner in his diary:—

“1555. The ij day of July was the Marchand-tayllers’ fest, and ther dynyd my lord mayre and dyvers of the conselle and juges and the shreyffes and mony althermen and gentyllmen, and thay had agaynst ther dener lviiij bokes and ij stages; the master of the com-

pene, master Jeye Wade sqwyre, (and the wardens) master Eton, master Rowe, and master Hylle, and master God, and all v borne in London and tayller(s') sunnes alle."

The spelling is as usual eccentric, but his assertion that Hilles' father was a Taylor living in London at his son's birth needs confirmation. If he could have claimed his freedom by patrimony why should such anxiety have been as we have seen evinced about the completion of his apprenticeship with Cosyns in order to secure his freedom?

Machyn's next entry as bearing on the Company's affairs has reference to the triennial festival of the Yeoman or Bachelor Company, thus:—

"1555. The xxix day of August (which) was the day of Decolacyon of sant John Baptyst,¹ the Marchant-tayllers kept masse at Sant Johnes be-yond Smyt-feld, and my lord of Sant Johnes dyd offer at masse, and ser Hare Hubylthorne, ser Thomas Whytt and master Harper, althermen, and all the clothyng. And after the iiij wardens of the yeomanry, and all the companie of the tayllers, a *ld.* a pesse; and the qwyre honge with cloth of arres, and after masse to the Tallyers' halle to dener."

During his year of office the cash payments were small, but some items of expenditure in the year 1555 must have been repugnant to Hilles, as 12s. for the Mass at the feast, and "by way of gift towards erecting the rood loft in St. Martyn by decree, 20s., and to priests and clerk at the general obit at St. Martyn's and for two great standards of wax, 10s. 4*d.*;" for the obit of Henry VII and all the other obits were restored and carried out by the Company during this reign.

Turning to the life of White at this period we find it in strange contrast to that of Hilles,' as in Mary's reign White availed himself of her licence to erect a lasting monument to his own fame in the establishment of St. John's, Oxford. That he was moved to this munificent act by some other inducement than a dream may be believed. Noble acts are sometimes contagious, and as his friend, Sir Thomas Pope, had in the previous year endowed a college to the "Holy and Undivided Trinity" wherefore should not he (White) establish and endow one to the patron

¹ Part I, pages 63 and 68.

saint of the Taylors, St. John Baptist? At any rate, whatever the motive, he did so, and on the 1st May, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, 1555, obtained a licence to erect, and found, such a college "for the learning of the sciences of Holy Divinity, Philosophy, and good Arts," for one President, thirty graduate or not graduate scholars, more or less according to the ordinances or statutes made by him, his heirs, or successors. The site selected was a messuage lately called Bernard College, lying adjacent to Sir Thomas Pope's new college, and White granted to St. John's College as endowment (*inter alia*) a yearly rent of 36*l.* which was due to him from the city of Coventry, and Fyfield and Long Wittenham Manors, both purchased from the Crown in January, 1554. A subsequent endowment was made, and a new Charter obtained by White on the 5th March, 1557, for re-founding the College for the learning of Theology, Philosophy, and Canon and Civil Law.

The first endowment was for one priest and four scholars, and the second was for nineteen fellows and scholars. By his will of 1558 (but subsequently revoked) the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were to make the admission of scholars from the city of London either at Christ's Hospital or elsewhere, but during his life the President and Fellows were appointed by him, all of the earlier appointments being of members of the Roman Church, with very little sympathy for what was then termed the "new learning."

There are few other incidents of his life in later years which have been preserved, but from the Master's account for 1556-7, it would appear that he was in conflict with the Merchant Taylors Company as to repayment of some loan, as these entries are found in their cash books :—

"Item, paid to Sir T. White, Knight and Alderman of London, the 26th November. 1556, in part payment of 510*l.* due to him according to an order and decree here made between this house and him the 23rd November, A°, paid 100*l.*

"Mr. Southcott's costs in the above suit, 2*l.* 10*s.*" .

But the important events were the death of his first wife and his marriage with the widow of a former colleague in the Corporation. His first wife died on the 26th February, 1557, and was buried in the parish of St. Aldermary, where (it is to be

presumed) he lived. All the Merchant Taylors Company attended her funeral in their liveries, which is thus recorded by Machyn, who, as a member of the craft, was probably there :—

“The xxvj day of Feybruary ded my lade Whyt, the wyff of ser Thomas Whyt late mare of London, and marchand tayller, and marchand of the Muskovea, and altherman of London.

. W]hyt-halle with many lordes and lades.

“The ij day of March my lade Whyt was buried in Althermare parryche, and ther was a goodly herse of wax, and ther was viij dosen pensels, and viij dosen skochyons and d’, and iiij dosen torchys; and the harolde was master Clarenshus; the cheyff morner my lade Laxtun, and master Roper led her; and mony morners; and after cam my lord mayre, and xx althermen folod the corsse, and iiij baners of emages, and ij grett whytt branchys; and the morrow masse and a godly sermon, and all the craft in ther leverye; (*blank*) pore men had gownes, and powre women had gownes, and after to ys plasse to dener, and my lord mayre and the althermen, and money gentyllmen, for ther was a grett dener as [has] bene sene; and ther was iij masses songe, on of the Trenete, and on of owre Lade, the iij of *requiem*.”

His behaviour towards the Merchant Taylors Company was always the same—that is, he was as constant in his attendance at their meetings after as before his mayoralty or the Reformation. Notwithstanding the recent death of his wife, Machyn gives this entry of his presence when Sir Thomas Rowe was Master in 1557 :—

“The xxix day of August was the Marchand-tayllers’ fest on the decolassyon of sant John babtyst, and my lorde mayre and ser Thomas Whytt and master Harper shreyff, and master Row, and all the cloythyng, and the iiij wardens of the yomenre, and the compene, hard messe at sant Johns in Smyth-feld; and offered evere man a pene; and from thens to the halle to dener, ij and ij together. The sam day a grett shoutyng; and the cheyff warden master Horne marchand-tayller.”

We have seen in the case of White’s friend, Sir A. Judde, in how short a time after his wife’s death he contracted another marriage, and so it was with White himself, for in November he married the widow of a former colleague in the Corporation, Sir Ralph Warren, and took up his residence in her house in Size Lane. Machyn has this entry :—

"The xxv day of November was mared ser Thomas W[white] knyght, late mare, unto my lade Warren, the wyff of ser Raff Warren, knyght, twys mare of London," and from a MS. History of the twelve Companies, we find the marriage with the widow recorded with this addition "in whose house he dwelled in St. Seth (now Size) Lane."

We presume from the marriage settlement that he made on this occasion (which had an ultimate effect upon his arrangements for the endowment of St. John's College) that he was not in affluent circumstances. It was dated on 21st November, and was made between himself of the first part, the Mercers Company of the second part, and Sir Rowland Hill, Alderman, and others, of the third part. The intended wife was no party, but the Mercers Company were parties to the deed in her interest, as White covenanted (firstly) to convey lands to Sir Rowland Hill, and others of the annual value of 400 marks within certain periods there mentioned; and (secondly) to secure the performance of that covenant, by a deposit (within five years after the breach of it) of 3,000*l.* in a chest with the Mercers Company for the purchase of these lands.

However, at about this period he was connected with his namesake, Sir John White (who lived in St. Bartholomew Lane and at Aldershot), and Sir Roger Martin (both Aldermen) in a loan of 20,150*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* to Queen Mary, having a licence to take 12*l.* per cent. interest upon it.¹ So that he had ready money but it was made applicable to other purposes.

There is one other office which we believe White held in Mary's reign, viz., a Master of the Court of Requests, not the small debts' court of the city, but that "wherein," according to Lord Coke,² "the Lord Privy Seal, at his pleasure, and the Masters of Requests do assemble and sit." "They are officers of the Star Chamber" wrote the Venetian Ambassador (in May, 1531) "who receive the petitions and complaints of the oppressed poor," which are presented to the King, and heard by the Court.³ The Court was constituted by Royal Commission,⁴ had no real jurisdiction and was virtually abolished by 16 James I, c. 10. The examination and answers of

¹ Col. Dom. Sess., 1558, March 5. They would otherwise have come under the penalties of 37 Henry VIII, cap. 9.

² 4th Inst., chap. 9.

³ Cal. State Papers, page 703.

⁴ See list of persons proposed to be appointed, 1553, January 12, and Sir W. Garrard's appointment in 1570, as a Master, Col. Dom. Sess., Vol. 18, page 132.

John Bowyer, a prisoner in the Fleet, to interrogatories put on the part of the Crown as to his connection with the late Duke of Suffolk, taken on the 14th June, 1558, were before White and John Throgmorton as Masters of this Court.¹

One incident recorded in this chapter—namely, the number and character of those who followed his wife to her grave—gives us some indication of the respect and esteem in which White and his wife were held by their fellow citizens. The chief mourner—Lady Laxton—had recently become a widow. Her late husband, Sir John—the founder of Rundle Grammar School, had been Mayor in the year 1544,² when our Guildsman, John Wilford, and White's friend, Sadde, were Sheriffs. The "Master Roper" who led her, was, it is presumed, Sir Thomas More's son-in-law, and the same person who desired to confer property in trust upon the Company in 1560.³ No order for the attendance of the Corporation is traced on their Records, so that the attendance of Sir Thomas Offley, and twenty Aldermen, with the Merchant Taylors Company, was voluntary, and no doubt intended as a mark of respect of White.

Reverting to Hilles, he probably served the office of Senior Warden in 1556, when his friend Heton was master. We say his *friend*, for there is some reason to think that the Hetons had been exiles, and liberal sustainers of those persecuted for the faith, for Bishop Jewell, in writing to Peter Martyr from Strasburg, in January, 1559, says, "Masters Heton, Abel, Springham, and Parkhurst, salute you very much, and though they desire for you all possible good, they desire for you nothing more than England." Some of these names being the same as Strype quotes in an earlier passage which we have given.

In Mary's reign there was *one* subject or interest which Hilles and White had in common, viz., their trade, and it was during this reign that they had to unite their energies to beat off the controversy raised against the Taylors by the Clothworkers, first, in refusing to grind⁴ the Taylors shears, and then in desiring to interfere with their trade as Clothworkers. All we know as a matter of fact is that the Taylors were successful in their contention and surely much of this success must have been attributed to the united action of two such notable members of the Guild as White and Hilles.

¹ Dom. Col., Vol. 13, page 103.

² Page 102, *ante*.

³ Part I, page 171.

⁴ Part I, page 200, *et seq.*

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MASTERSHIP OF HILLES.

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THE last sickness of Queen Mary was both exceedingly sharp and of long continuance. The nation was in suspense, "generally the rich were fearfull, the wise carefull, the honestly disposed doubtfull, the discontented and the desperate, and all such whose desires were immoderate and evill, joyfull as wishing trouble, the gate of spoyle."¹ At length her death happened. "The xvij day of November be-twyn v and vj in the mornynge ded quen Mare, the

¹ Hayward's Elizabeth, pages 1-2.

vj yere of here grace(s) rayne, the wyche Jhesu have mercy on her solle! Amen. At which," writes Stowe (p. 364) "many were amazed and some rejoiced. The news was deadly unto all abbotts, priors, and prioresses, who thus saw sudden desolation before their face." Such are Machyn's entry of the event and Stowe's comment upon it.

Parliament was in session and when the late Queen's Council had certain intelligence of her decease the House of Commons was summoned to the bar of the House of Lords, to hear from Archbishop Heath (the Lord Chancellor) "that God had taken the Queen to his mercy, but had furnished them with another Sovereign Lady, my Lady Elizabeth, her Grace," and to adopt measures that the Lady Elizabeth might forthwith be proclaimed Queen.

"[The same] day, be-twyne a xj and xji a' for[noon, the lady Eliza]beth was proclamyd quen Elsabeth, quen of England, France and Yrland, and deffender of the feyth, by dyvers haroldes of armes and trumpetors, and dukes, lordes [and knights,] the wyche was ther present, the duke of Norfolke, [the] lord tresorer, the yerle of Shrousbere, and the yerele of Bedford, and the lord mayre and the althermen, and dyver odur lordes and knyghtes," and if we believe Machyn, the citizens rejoiced at Elizabeth's accession.

"The sam day, at after-non, all the chyrches in London, dyd ryng, and at nyght dyd make bonefyres and set tabulls in the strett, and ded ett and drynke and mad mere for the newe quen Elsabeth, quen Mare(s) syster."

Elizabeth was at Hatfield, and on the 22nd came up to the Charter House, and there resided until the 28th in those rooms, which, by the courtesy of the Master of the House, may be seen. She then moved off to the Tower:—

"[All] the stretes unto the towre of London was newe gravelled, Her grace rod through Barbican and Crepulgat, by [London-wall] unto Bysshope-gate, and up to Leden-halle and through Gracyus strett and Fanchyrchestrett; and a-for rod gentyllmen and [many] knyghtes and lordes, and after cam all the trumpetes blohyng, and then cam all the haroldes in a-ray; and my lord of Penbroke [bare the] the quen(s) sword; then cam here Grace on horsebake, [apparellled] in purpull welvett with a skarpe abowt her neke, and [the serg]anttes of armes abowt here grace; and next after rod [sir] Robart Dudley the master of her horse; and so the gard with halbards. [And] ther was shyche shutyng of gunes as never was hard a-for; so to the towre, with all the

nobulles. And so here Grace lay in the towre unto the v day of Dessember, that was sant Nicolas evyn. And ther was in serten plasses chylderyn with speches and odur places, syngyng and playing with regalles."

In his description of this progress Machyn has left unnoticed the presence of the Guilds, at the head of Bishopsgate Street and that "a scholar of St. Paul's School made a short speech in Latin verse," and that next to him stood the Company of Mercers within their rails, and after them all the other Companies extending to the furthest end of Mark Lane," a fact not unnoticed by other members of his craft, and brought up as a precedent when James I entered London.¹

But little was done by Elizabeth save the re-appointment of the Judges, Council, and Ambassadors, until after her sister's funeral at Westminster on the 14th December, to which place her body was removed as recorded by Machyn:—

"[The xiiij day of December, the corpe of the late Queen being brought from St. James's, in a cha]rett, with the pyctur of emages lyke [her person], adorned with cremesun velvett and her crowne on her hed, her septer on her hand, and mony goodly rynges on her) fyngers."

But a short interval only was to elapse before the Abbey was to be used upon an occasion for national rejoicing—as Elizabeth was crowned there on the 15th January, and her progress from the Tower is thus recorded by Machyn²:—

"[The Queen came in a chariot from] the Towre, with all the lordes and ladies [in crimson] velvet and ther horses trapyd with the sam, and [trumpeters in] red gownes blohyng, and all the haroldes in ther cottes armur, and all the strettes stroyd with gravell; and at Grasyus strett a goodly pagantt of kyng [Henry] the viij and quen Ane ys wyff and of ther lenege, and in Cornelle a-nodur goodly pagantt of kyng Henry and kyng Edward the vjth; and be-syd Soper lane in [Cheap a]nodur goodly pagantt, and the condyth pentyd; [and] at the lytylle condutt a-nodur goodly pagant of a qwyke tre and a ded, and the quen had a boke gyffyn her ther; and ther the recorder of London and the chamburlayn delevered unto the quen a purse of gold fulle to the waluw of (*blank*); and so to the Flett strett to the condyt, and ther was

¹ Part I, page 265, *ante*.

² See Holinshed, Vol. 4, pages 159-177, for a fuller description of this progress.

a-nodur goodly pagantt of the ij chyrchys; and at Tempylle bare was ij grett gyanttes, the one was name was Goott-magott a Albaon and the thodur Co(rineus)."

At Elizabeth's accession the Romanists were in all the places of power and influence, the Queen, therefore, took no decisive step in favour of either party until the whole subject had been well considered and brought under the notice of Parliament. A proclamation addressed to the Lord Mayor was, on the 27th December issued, commanding forbearance from all manner of doctrines or preaching, save on the Epistles and Gospels, and the ten commandments in the vulgar tongue.¹

However, upon some points there was no hesitation or compromise.² 1. The Queen was to be supreme within her realm,³ and the oath of allegiance was to be taken by all her subjects. 2. The laws against the Lollards and heretics were removed, and that for ever, from the Statute Book. 3. The standard of truth in the English Church was to be the Canonical Scriptures; the first four general councils of the Church Catholic, or any later General Council, and that Parliament and Convocation shall agree to be such.

Before any other Bill was submitted to Parliament a Council of Divines was appointed, under the presidency of a doctor of civil law (Sir Thomas Smith) to review "the Book of Common Prayer and the Order of Ceremonies and Service in the Church,"⁴ whose labours resulted in the adoption of the second service book of Edward with some modifications." A controversy arose upon vestments, as the new rubric restored the ornaments and vestments in use in the second year of Edward's reign, a decision which was extremely galling to the foreign exiles. However, the Act passed both Houses with little opposition, save that which is found expressed in the speeches of Abbot Feckenham and the Bishop of Chester (Dr. Scot).⁵

St. John Baptist's Day, 1559, ought to be ever memorable in the annals of the national church, because upon that day the Roman

¹ Cardwell's Conferences, page 19.

² 1 Elizabeth, c. 1.

³ Short, page 407.

⁴ "The Liturgical Services set forth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth," were printed by the Parker Society (Cambridge, 1847).

⁵ Cardwell's Conferences, pages 98-117.

Latin was abandoned and the English Prayer Book adopted in all the parishes throughout the realm.¹

Soon after a Royal Commission was issued under the authority of Parliament² to administer the oath of allegiance to all holding office in the National Church. The Queen's injunctions, fifty-three in number, were then issued for the adoption of Uniformity, and these were followed by fifty-six Articles of Enquiry into the various subjects affecting the well-being of the Church. Visitations were held in different parts of England, that for London, as Strype records, at the house of Mr. Sheriff Hawes in Mincing Lane. Fourteen Bishops resigned their Sees, but the clergy generally complied with these changes. Thus of the 9,400 beneficed clergy, only a total of 189 (including dignitaries of the church and eighty rectors) refused to take the Oath of Supremacy.³

We have read from Holinshed how the "Rood" was erected⁴ in St. Paul's upon the arrival of Philip, and in many of the churches the figures of St. Mary and St. John stood on either side of the rood, which Machyn refers to as "Mare and John." These images were specially obnoxious to many of the Reformers, and in August orders were given for their removal. Machyn mentions the proceedings of the visitors and the burning of images in places near to the Hall.

"The xxij day of August the vesaturs sat at sant Larens in the Jure, docthur Horne and mo veseturs.

"The xxiiij day of August the veseturs sat at santt Myghell in Cornell like-wysse for the chyrche gudes.

"[The xxiiij day of August], my lord [mayor] came home thrugh Chepe, and a-gaynst Yrmonger [lane] and a-gaynst sant Thomas of Acurs ij gret [bonfires] of rodes and of Mares and Johns and odur emages, ther thay wher bornyd with gret wondur.

"The tyme afor Bathellmuwtyd and after was all the rodes and Mares (and) John, and many odur of the chyrche gudes, bowth copes, crosses, sensors, alter-clothes, rod clothes, bokes, baners bokes, and baner-stays, waynskott, with myche odur gayre, abowt, London

. [and the xxv day of August, at saint Botulph's] with-owt Bysshhyope-gatt the rod, Mare and John [patron of that] chyrche, and bokes; and ther was a felow within the chyrche [wall] mad a sermon at the bornyng of the chyrche goodes . . .

¹ 1 Elizabeth, c. 11, sec. 4. 1 Strype's Annals, pages 200 and 255.

² C. 1, sec. 18.

³ See page 272, *post*.

⁴ Page 133, *ante*.

thruw in serten bokes in-to the fyre, and ther thay [took away the] crosse of wod that stod in the chyrche-yerde, of master . . . cost, a tawhear of skynnes."

Under the colour of destroying those images which had been made an object of worship, many beautiful church monuments were in the course of destruction, until a proclamation was given forth on the 19th September for their preservation. Other acts of fanaticism, such as the obliteration of mural paintings were committed.¹

Proclamations were put out against excess of dress, and to enforce the provisions of the Statute Laws (1 and 2 Philip and Mary and 24 Henry VIII) against players, "who should play no more till a certain time to whomsoever they belonged;"² but a happier spirit soon prevailed and all the old customs were not cast aside. On St. Mark's Day a procession from various parishes went to their churches, singing the "Kyrie Eleison" in the old fashion, and on Twelfth-night the Corporation and all the Crafts went in procession to St. Paul's, first heard a sermon, and then in the Hall a play and fine mask winding up with a banquet which lasted till midnight." Then on Candlemas day the same procession went to St. Paul's and there heard the sermon.³

The change of reign was to Richard Hilles the opening up of a new life and enabled him to act himself and to animate others in a course of benevolence. But as preliminary to this he had to encounter something—possibly like reproach—from Bullinger⁴ for his late outward conformity to Roman usages. From the tenor of Hilles' reply to Bullinger's renewed correspondence, it might be assumed that some feeling of indifference had arisen against Bullinger, for though Hilles expresses himself to have received "with a willing mind," his letter of December, 1559, the tenor of it was possibly one of severe remonstrance; thus Hilles writes⁵:

"Man, you say, is prone to fall, and in many things we all of us

¹ 1 Strype's Annals, page 279.

² Part I, page 234, *ante*.

³ 1 Strype's Annals, page 294.

⁴ Hilles in December, 1566, wrote to Bullinger in terms of gratitude for the receipt of these letters which he had preserved. "I thank you much for them as they abound in pious exhortation and most excellent comfort."—Zurich Letters, page 173.

⁵ Cardwell refers to this letter (28th February, 1559) as from a well-known Merchant and generous friend of the exiles."—Conferences, page 12.—Zurich Letters (2) page 15.

offend. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if I also should have stumbled, and begun to stand in awe of and fear men, more than I ought to have done; as well also as to entertain opinions which many years since I held in the greatest abhorrence." Hilles then explains that his earlier views had been corrected by his study of the Fathers—as he writes: "To that I was drawn over by reading the volumes of some of the holy fathers, in which, if I am not mistaken, there are some doctrines, handed down too by the consent of almost all of them, but which are in no wise agreeable to the doctrine held by yourself and those like you. I do not choose however to write more upon this subject because if you think fit to reply to my letter, I have neither time nor inclination to write an answer in return; it is so irksome to me to write Latin, and I am now almost entirely out of practice, as I am no longer in habits of intercourse with those learned men who express their thoughts in the Latin language." But that Bullinger might not take offence or think Hilles was displeased, at a reference to earlier days, he continues: "I certainly feel much obliged to you for having thought proper to recall to my remembrance, how I once knew that grace and compassion is most abundant with the Lord, who does not cast out, but receives with kindness, those who return to him. I confess therefore my past offence unto the Lord, I give glory to the Lord, and from the Lord I implore mercy, as you recommend me to do, nor have I any doubt but that I shall obtain it. And I will take care to be faithful for the future, and will promote, as you advise me, to the utmost of my power the true religion, of which the chief part is contained in the confession of faith¹ exhibited to the invincible Emperor Charles V, at the assembly at Augsburg in 1530."

He then continues his letter by giving information on English politics:—

"With respect to religion, silence has been imposed upon the Catholic preachers (as they are called) by a royal proclamation, and sufficient liberty is allowed to the gospellers, to preach three times a week during this Lent before the queen herself, and to prove their doctrines from the holy scriptures. The public assem-

¹ "The Confession of Augsburg was first presented to the emperor Charles V on June 22, 1530. It was signed and subscribed by John, elector of Saxony; George, marquis of Brandenburg; Ernest, duke of Lunenburg; Philip, landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt; and the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. The matter was supplied by Luther, and reduced into form by the eloquent pen of Melancthon."—See Mosheim, Cent. XVI, chap. iii, 1, 2.

bly too, or common council of this realm, or Parliament,¹ as our people call it, has now been sitting nearly six weeks. Nothing however has yet been publicly determined with respect to the abolishing popish superstition, and the re-establishment of the Christian religion. There is however a general expectation, that all rites and ceremonies will shortly be reformed by our faithful citizens, and other godly men, in the afore-mentioned Parliament,² either after the pattern which was lately in use in the time of King Edward the sixth, or which is set forth by the protestant princes of Germany, in the above-named Confession³ of Augsburg."

Blotting out the memory and acts of the late reign the object of an English churchman of Hilles' type would be to take up the work of the reformer where it was cut short by the death of Edward—to see what were the needs of London at Mary's death, and to supply them.

The alien priories having been abolished by Henry V, his successor Henry VI appointed schools in the 24th year of his reign (1445-46) in St. Martin's-le-Grand, St. Mary-le-bow, St. Dunstan-in-the-West, and St. Anthony, and in the next year in St. Andrew's, Holborn, Allhallows the Great, St. Peter's, Cornhill, and St. Thomas of Acurs.⁴ The Chancellor of Paul's was⁵ the Master of the schools, having the government and direction of literature, not only within the Church, but within the whole city, so that all the masters and teachers of grammar depended on and were subject to him.

So long as the monasteries existed it was the common way for the nobility and gentry to educate their sons in a religious community such as the Dominicans, Franciscans, or Augustines,

¹ That sitting of the Parliament began on Wednesday, January 25, and was dissolved on May 8.

² The Act of Uniformity passed the House of Commons on April 20. The English service-book began to be used Sunday, May 12, in the queen's chapel; and in St. Paul's on the Wednesday following.—Strype, Grindal, page 35.

³ There were thoughts now of receiving the Augustan Confession, the better to join in league with the German protestants. On this subject Bullinger thus wrote to Utenhovius: "I see," said he, "no small disturbances like to arise in England also, if the Augustan Confession be received, which some would have; a thing very unworthy in many regards. This gives vexation to all the purer churches, and would infect them all with its leaven. I pray God restrain men otherwise pious, but sufficiently troublesome to godly men and the purer religion. And you know what was done in Poland. Beware, and lay to your helping hand, that it be not received. King Edward's reformation satisfieth the godly."—Strype, *Annals*, I. i, 259.

⁴ Stowe, page 28 (Ed. 1842).

⁵ Knight's Colet, pages 89, 103, and 23 Eliz, c. 1, sec. 6, and Mr. Stephen's note in fol. 1, page 441, of "*Ecclesiastical Statutes*," as to the Bishop's authority over schools.

but the education, according to Erasmus, was imperfect, as they had not above three months time allowed them for learning grammar, and then were "posted away to sophistry, logic, and a thousand quibbles," and so on to divinity; "but if they were brought to any classic authors, Greek or Latin, they were blind, they were ignorant, they thought themselves in another world." Then followed the contest between the schoolmen (the Thomists and the Scotists) and the favourers of the new learning, as to the teaching of Greek, and the study of the Scriptures in that tongue; for the use and study of the Scriptures were so low at that time that even at Oxford, the being admitted to the degree of B.D. gave only liberty to read the Master of the sentences (Peter Lambard), and that of D.D. did not admit a man to read the Scriptures.¹

Now the absorption of the revenues of the monasteries by the Crown had left the education of some classes and the wants of the poor totally unprovided for, nor under the Chauntries Collegiate Act had any grants been made to London by the Crown for the pious uses specified in the preamble. These therefore were wants which were admitted on all hands.

To supply the necessities of education very little had been done, but during the last illness of Edward VI Bishop Ridley² preached before him, and was invited by the King, after the sermon, to "direct him in what particular actions he might in this way best discharge his duty." The Bishop postponed his answer in order to confer "with the citizens," and from this conference resulted the erection (*inter alia*) of Christ's Hospital for "the education of young fatherless children."

In this work Hilles, as a member of the Common Council, may have taken part, but at any rate his "faithful and very dear friend" had done so. "And then (as Ridley wrote, addressing Sir George Barnes) the truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, *thou* wast in that year (1552-3) not only a furtherance and continuance of that which before was well begunne but also didst laboure so to have profited the worke that it should have beene an absolute thing, and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendome."³

But there were other children who needed education besides the fatherless, and as the "Mercers" had purchased their Hall premises in 1542, by agreeing to establish a school for the children

¹ Knight, page 46, and see page 163, *post*.

² Hayward's Life of Edward VI.

³ Ridley's last Farewell, Vol. 3, Word's Ecclesiastical Biography, page 102.

of their own guildsmen, why should not the Merchant Taylor's take a broader view of their duty and establish a school to teach any children domiciled in London? The famed School of St. Anthony, in which Sir Thomas More was trained, stood facing their Hall, and education was well in accord with the best traditions of the Company, some of their members having been school founders.

But it was clear to demonstration that the Guild had not the money to become founders, the "common box" had been drained, and the corporate income diminished by the action of the Crown under the Chauntries Act. It was, therefore, a case for individual munificence, for all the Members of the Court were not of one mind upon the subject of education,—then a burning question. Would Sir Thomas White and others of his party in the Court, when their hopes for the future of the Roman Church were not altogether extinguished, be prepared to support the proposal to establish a school of the "new learning," to work in harmony with the church—not of Rome but of England?

But the party to which Hilles was attached was ascendant in the State, and in the Court he did not stand alone. Two men of especial mark among their fellow citizens, to whom we have already directed attention, were with him in this matter. One was Sir Thomas Offley¹ who, according to Fuller, was "the Zacchæus of London, not for his low stature but his high charity," on whom the rhyme was made—

"Offley three dishes had of daily roast
An egg, an apple, and (the third) a toast."

"feeding himself on plain and wholesome repast that he might feed others by his bounty."

The other, Emanuel Lucar, an inhabitant of St. Lawrence Poultney, who had already shown himself ready to suffer in the cause of truth and justice.²

Nor ought we to overlook the third man who, though little known, stood forth and contributed of his substance to this good work, that is Stephen Hayles³ who had an hereditary connection with the Guild, and was admitted to his freedom by patrimony on the 30th May, 1552, and afterwards became Warden, first

¹ Note, page 172.

² He died in 1573-4, thus—"Received from Mrs. Lucar widow for so much given by Mr. Emanuel Lucar her husband a loving brother of this Company for and towards a repast to be made for the Livery—the sum of 5*l*."

³ Stephen Hayles was one of the twenty appointed to dine and attend the Lord Mayor on St. Simon and St. Jude, 1562. He never was Master, and possibly he

with Gerard Gore in 1564 and then with Thomas Offley, jun., in 1565, but of whom nothing more is known.

Under these circumstances Hilles entered upon his undertaking and one thing not the least important greatly favoured his success. There stood vacant a mansion eligible for a school which could be purchased, lying in St. Lawrence Poultney, intermediate between the Vintry and St. Martin's and one which Hilles often must have traversed on his way to the Merchant Taylors' Hall. The building he "selected for the School premises was a portion of a palace, named 'The Manor of the Rose' (sometimes called 'Pulteney's Inn'), the locality of which is described by Shakspeare (Henry VIII, Act 1, Scene 2):—

'Not long before your Highness sped to France,
'The Duke being at the Rose, within the parish
'St. Laurence Poultney, did of me demand
'What was the speech among the Londoners
'Concerning the French journey.'

"The fortunes of this mansion had been various. It was originally built by Sir John Pulteney, Knight, five times Lord Mayor of London, in the reign of Edward III. It passed successively through the hands of Lord Arundel, who as the owner in 1392 made his will there; of John Holland, Duke of Exeter; and of various members of the De la Pole or Suffolk family. It was forfeited for treason on the part of the last bearer of that name, and granted by the Crown, in 1506, to Edward,¹ Duke of Buckingham, by whom it was retained until he was attainted in the 13th of Henry VIII. The names of the street, Suffolk Lane, from which it is entered from Thames Street, and of the parish, St. Laurence Poultney, or Pountney, in which it is situate, still bear witness to its former proprietors. 'Ducksfoot Lane,' in the neighbourhood, was the 'Duke's Foot Lane,' or private passage from his garden, which lay to the east of the mansion, to the river; and the upper part of St. Laurence Pountney Hill was, until within these few years, called 'Green Lettuce Lane,' a corruption of 'Green Lattice Lane'; this

suffered losses in the hard times of 1563-6. In September and October, 1562, he paid his assessments of 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for harness, and 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for corn, but in January for the loan of 350*l.* to the Corporation of London, his name has *nil* against it. He gave nothing to the "New Burse" in January, 1565, nor to the lottery of August, 1568, nor for corn or wheat in February, 1564, February, 1565, or September, 18th, 1573. His last attendance at the Court was 15th December, 1573.

¹ "The Duke" mentioned in the passage of Shakspeare quoted above.

was the means of approach to the palace from Cannon Street. The estate came to the Sussex family by statute, to pass the mansion house in St. Laurence Poultney, late the property of 'Lord Mocay of Exeter to the Earl of Sussex, and to my Lady his wife.' And the Earl his son (who in 1562 was an honorary member of the Merchant Taylors Company) obtained a licence from the Crown in March, 1560-1, to dispose of it to Richard Hettie, citizen and Cooper."

Richard Hettie though a recent purchaser was willing to sell half or something more of the estate if Richard Hilles could persuade his colleagues in the Court to make the venture. A mansion of that character would contain two requisites for a school, a hall and a chapel. The situation, was as the Court minutes of 1606-7 described it, "in the midst of the honorable and renowned city (the eye of the kingdom)" on a slope of ground running down to the Thames and making it healthy. The price was 566*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and if he gave them 500*l.* would the Court or some individual members of the Merchant Taylors Company make up the balance? The purchase was made not by the Master and Wardens, but by Hilles and his friends on the 1st April, 1561, when John Hettie in consideration of 566*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* paid him by Offley, Lucar, Hilles, and Stephen Hayles, Merchant Taylors, of which 500*l.* was paid by Hilles, conveyed to Botyll (as a Trustee) the premises therein described¹ a part of the great messuage late the property of Thomas, Earl of Sussex.

The time had arrived in the year 1561, when it became Hilles' duty to fill the office of Master, for he was probably in good pecuniary circumstances, and well able to incur the loss both of time and money, which bearing office in those years entailed upon the Master. The meetings of the Court, or of the Master and Wardens, were often bi-weekly and of long continuance, commencing as the habits of the times suggested, at 8 A.M., continuing until 12 o'clock for dinner, and being finished in the afternoon. Custom, if not law, made the "Common Hall" the place of assembly (both of home and foreign workmen), because the decrees of the Star Chamber, as we have elsewhere shown,² were there promulgated, while all matters of dispute or controversy between the members of the craft were there settled by arbitration or by the adjudication of the Master and Wardens acting judicially.³

¹ Appendix 6, page 356.

² Part I, page 77, *ante*.

³ Part I, page 208.

Until we go back to the early history of the trade it is difficult for us at the present day to understand how the hall, now deserted, save for convivial meetings, was once frequented by many men "waiting for the hearing of their causes,"¹ and that "the great multitude of companies, resorting there at quarter-day or other times," should so deface the outlying gardens as to need a remedy.²

We have no record of Hilles' election, because the Court books are lost, but that he had an election dinner with great plenty is affirmed in an imperfect entry of Machyn's:—

"[The day of June was the Merchant-Taylor's feast Thomas Hoffeeley, master John Whyt, master Ma master Bas]kerfeld, and ser Wylliam Garrett, and mony worshephull, [and] mony lades and gentyll women, and they had (*blank*) h[ucks and) (*blank*) stages, and ther was the wettes plahying, and gret plente."

When he was elected Master, Sir Thomas Rowe, his co-Warden of 1555, was serving the office of Sheriff, and before he left the mastership his colleague in the court, Sir William Harper, was chosen to be Lord Mayor. Both were notable men in their day.

Sir W. Harper had a pageant more or less at the expense of the Company, of which some particulars are given in this volume.³ In this Richard Hilles had to bear his part, and his banner was carried in the procession with those of others distinguished in civic history, who were then fresh in the memory of the Company, as Percyvale, Jenyns, FitzWilliam, Hubylthorne, White, and Offley.

The first step which the Court had to take in Hilles' mastership, was to settle and agree upon a body of statutes, under which the school should be governed and carried on. Of this Court a record has been accidentally preserved with the following preface⁴ as introductory to the statutes:

"At a Quarter-day holden this Wednesday, 24th day of September, A.D., 1561, and A.R. Elizabeth 3, in the presence of the worshipful Richard Hilles, master of this Mystery and his Wardens, and others the eight worshipful persons, Assistants and Counsellors of the Mystery, whose names follow:—

¹ Part I, page 237.

² Memorials, page 33.

³ Chapter xviii, *post*.

⁴ Book L, fo. 436.

Sir Thomas White, Knt., Ald.	Robert Rose.
Mr. William Harper.	William Merick.
Mr. Emanuel Lucar.	John God.
Mr. Richard Waddington.	John Ollyff.
Mr. Edward Ley.	Thomas Browne.
	William Sulverd.
	Thomas Tomlinson.
	Jerrard Gore."

The meeting is likely enough to have been a controversial one, but fortunately there existed a body of well considered statutes, framed by Dean Colet (a man respected by all parties) which furnished a guide to the Court, and in fact the model upon which Hilles' statutes were framed, for those of St. Paul's School were in many respects closely followed.

The Merchant Taylors' School statutes set forth with this preamble, that "in the names of the whole body of this Company," the Master, Wardens, and Assistants had for the better education and bringing up of children in good manners and literature, erected¹ a school, and also meet and convenient lodgings for a schoolmaster and the ushers to inhabit and dwell in, and that they had concluded and agreed that the said school should have continuation by God's Grace for ever."

The first statute then declares that the Grammar School so founded "in the honor of Christ Jesu" shall have a High Master to direct all the school who was to be "learned in good and cleane Latin literature, and also in Greeke if such may be gotten."² He was to be appointed by the Court, and then placed in his house or lodgings on the south side of the school, "with all the implements therein by indenture," living therein free of rent. The chief usher and two under-ushers were to be selected by the schoolmaster, and when approved by the Court, were to have the lodgings assigned: the chief usher on the north side of the school, and two under ushers in the middle rooms in the Company's Court or Great Yard.

It was to be a school of the new learning, in which Greek was to be taught, and the principles of the National Church were to be inculcated, and also the Catechism, and instructions in the Articles of Faith, and the Ten Commandments in Latin,—“that is to say, such a catechism as shall be approved by the Queen's Majesty

¹ This word does not (we think) mean *built*, for neither time nor money were available, but *established* by these Orders of the Court. So Mulcaster seems to use the word. See page 165.

² Page 158.

that now is, and by the Honourable Court of Parliament of this realm from time to time."

With a liberality which was common with St. Paul's School, "children of all nations and countries indifferently, coming thither to be taught" should be received in the school, but all alike were to have first learned the Catechism in English and Latin, "to read perfectly and write competently, or else lett them not be admytted in no wise." It was not to be a school for dunces.

The government of the school was in the Master, Wardens, and *Past-Masters*, with the Aldermen and Sheriffs of the Mystery, "and for their labours in the schoole businesses it is not to be doubted but our Saviour Jesus Christ shall reward them as well here as in the world to come, for godlynes sayeth St. Paul is profitable to all things as a thing that hath both promises in this lief and in that that is to come." One hundred of the 250 boys to which the school was limited, were to be free scholars, but the chief master was to be permitted to receive quarterages for the remaining 150 boys:—*i.e.*, 2s. 6d. a quarter for 50, and 5s. a quarter for 100 boys.

The "Common Box" of the Mystery was to provide 40*l.* quarterly, or 10*l.* per annum for each master, but as in thus applying Guild money to other objects than Guild men, was a new departure, it was not intended as a *perpetual* endowment, but "until such tyme as the same shall be otherwise discharged by the gifts and legacies of good and well-disposed men to the freeing either of the said whole number appointed to be taught in the said school, or else of the freeing and teaching free of 150 poor men's children, parcel of the said numbers appointed to be taught."

It may be noticed, though something of a digression, that the statutes of each school throw some light on the surroundings in which the scholars such as Edmund Spenser, Lancelot Andrews, and other distinguished men of Merchant Taylors' School of the time were educated. The hours of schooling were to be (winter and summer alike) from seven till eleven A.M. and from one till five P.M.¹ "Thrice a day prostrate," or, as the Merchant Taylors' statute has it, "kneeling on their knees," the scholars were to say

¹ "From seven of the clock, though ye rise sooner (as the lamb and the lark be the proverbial leaders when to rise and when to go to bed) till ten A.M., and from two till five P.M. be the best and fittest hours and enough for children wherein to learn." Mulcaster's Positions (1888), page 231. But having set the lesson for his scholars to learn, Mulcaster "slept his hour in his desk in the school, but woe be to the scholar that slept the while."—Fuller.

the prayers appointed. In either school no scholar was to use tallow but only "wax candles at the cost of their friends."

Sanitary arrangements there were none,¹ and as to "their greater needs" they were to go to the waterside. Each boy entering his name on becoming a scholar had to pay at St. Paul's 4*d.* to a poor scholar "that sweepeth and keepeth the school clean," and at Merchant Taylors' school 12*d.* for the same service (but not done by a scholar), and for keeping "the streets nigh to the school cleaned of all manner of ordure caryon" or filth. No scholar was to eat or drink within the school, but in some other place, and as neither establishment had a playground the scholars were not (elsewhere we presume) to use "cockfighting, tennys play, nor riding about of victory or disputing abroad,"² which is but foolish babbling and loss of time."

How far Mulcaster, the first High Master, was inconvenienced for want of room may be gathered from his "Positions." "Places of learning and exercise ought to be joint tenement and near neighbours" was his view, and his own sympathies were for country exercises. "Those (schools) being in the heart of towns might (he thought) easily be chopt for some field situation far from disturbance and near to all necessities. "Then," he continues (referring to the Merchant Taylors' School), "the inconvenience which I myself have felt that way both for mine own and for my scholars' health and the checking of that which of long I have wished for, I mean some train in exercise do cause me so much to commend field room, though I myself be not the worse affected within a city for room through the great good will towards the furtherance of learning and the great cost in the purchasing and *apparelling the room* to that use done by the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors in London, in whose school I have been both the first and only Master since the *erection* and there have continued now twenty years."³

At St. Paul's they were to have no remedies, unless the King, the Archbishop, or a Bishop present in his own person in the school desire it; but at the Merchant Taylors' School they were to have a remedy on Tuesday or Thursday afternoon in those weeks

¹ A surgeon was appointed "once or twice a quarter to view the Scholars, and if he found any pockes or other contagious disease, he should *within twenty* days declare it to the Master and Wardens that after such notice given they may then dismiss the Scholars."—Court Minutes, March, 1568.

² As to the roughness of the London apprentice and street boy at this period, see Rye's *England*, page 186.

³ Note 1, page 163, *ante*.

“in which there followeth no holiday.” Other holidays there were none, and no master was to be absent from the school more than twenty days, leaving the other masters there, and no scholar to be absent for three weeks without dismissal.

So far Hilles had accomplished success ; the Court—Sir Thomas White being present—had approved a definite scheme for the teaching a larger number of boys than had ever been hitherto assembled and “taught under one roof.” All that Colet had provided for in St. Paul’s was 153 boys, and all that Queen Elizabeth had provided for (1560) in St. Peter’s, Westminster, was 120 boys, and yet under Hilles’ scheme a number almost equal to both schools was to be taught. But the scheme would have failed had not the High Master been well selected, and could the best man be secured on the terms of remuneration which the Court had fixed ? Looking at the remuneration of the High Master of St. Paul’s which was a total *certain* sum of 77*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (with one under master) was 10*l.* a year only, as a *certain* income, enough to give, with a further payment by results of 125*l.*, viz., a capitation fee on paying scholars if they came for instruction ?¹

How far the statutes had been finally settled before Mulcaster became a candidate cannot be ascertained, but this feature of paying the schoolmaster by results, which is not to be found in St. Paul’s statutes, may have been his suggestion, as it was in accord with his views. “And sure experience hath taught me (wrote Mulcaster) that when the Master is left to the uncertainty of his stipend to increase or decrease with his diligence that then he will do best and the children profit most, always provided that he deal with no more that he can bring up under himself, and hazard not his own credit nor his children’s profit upon any absolute under teacher.”²

However, Richard Mulcaster, a man of a good northern family, with a varied University training,³ and who had recently become a teacher, was a candidate for the mastership of the school, to which he was appointed, as recorded in the Court Minutes of the 24th September, 1561 :—

“Item, it was agreed and decreed by the foresaid Master, Wardens, and Assistants that Mr. Richard Mulcaster, M.A., for the

¹ See note 3, page 217, *post*.

² Chapter 40, page 227, *Mulcaster’s Positions* (1888).

³ Educated at Eton, elected in 1548 to King’s, then migrated to Oxford, and was elected as a student of Christ Church in 1555, and began as a teacher in 1559.

good report that hath been made of him to this house of divers and sundry well learned men, that he is not only excellently learned in the Latyn tongue, but also of the Greeke tongue, and very apt and meete to teach, shall have the room and place of the chief master of the foresaid school according to the order afore appointed, if he will take the room and place upon him. Whereupon the said Mr. Mulcaster being called hither, it was declared unto him their good will showed and granted unto him as afore-said, and then thereupon after thanks by him given for their great good wills to him showed in that behalf, desired a time of respite to be given him to consider their offer to him made before he should make answer thereunto.

“Whereupon they, the said Master, Wardens, and Assistants have given him time of respite in that behalf till Sunday next ensuing to make his answer in that behalf to the said Master and Wardens, and if the answer shall be to take the charge upon him, they, the said Master and Wardens, to admit and stall him in the said school, after and according to the order before devised and appointed accordingly.”

Why Mulcaster should have required this respite to consider of his acceptance of an office which he had solicited is not explained, and after this respite he gave in his answer not to the Master and Wardens, but to Richard Hilles only, who was always silent upon what passed at this interview, yet from the date of Mulcaster's appointment to the year 1568, Hilles paid to him 10*l.* a year to augment the salary of the Chief Usher.

That this was a private benevolence on the part of Hilles is certain; for the payment, if made by the hands of the Common Clerk was never entered in his accounts against the Company. However, this view of the transaction was ignored by Mulcaster, who, after the death of Hilles presented a claim for the arrearages of this salary in these terms:—“He alleged that when he was entertained to be schoolmaster Mr. Hilles (now deceased) being partly a founder of the same school, and sitting here as Master, did compound with him that he should have for himself 10*l.* yearly paid to him by the Company, besides such other benefits as by the ordinances and foundation of the school he was to make for his admission of scholars; 20*l.* for his head usher, and 10*l.* a piece for two under ushers; according to which agreement he saith he received payment of John Hutchenson, Common Clerk of the Company, for many years together, and although, said he, the ordinances written in the Company's books make mention of 10*l.* less by the year than

he received, yet the composition made with him by the Master in open Court, and paid him accordingly, although the Master privately supplied it for a time, he thought he might in reason demand the arrearages of the Company."¹

This transaction, described by Mulcaster "as a composition made in open Court," could not fairly be accepted as such when no member save Hilles was present or probably cognizant of what passed. The Court Minute therefore makes no reference to this agreement and concludes thus:—"Whereupon this present day at afternoon the said Mr. Mulcaster did give his answer unto the aforesaid Master, namely Mr. R. Hilles, how he was contented to take upon him the said room and place of schoolmaster, and to teach in their said new erected school according to the order and devise before made and appointed."

Such then was the part which Richard Hilles took in the establishment of Merchant Taylors' School. That he was a part founder, and that of no inconsiderable part, is clear from the facts which have been preserved, and that the responsibilities which he took upon himself on this and other occasions as a member of the Court, prior to February, 1574, were appreciated by his brethren is clear, from a minute of that date: "It was considered that the said Richard Hilles hath not only generally performed and accomplished the duty of a worthy Brother of this Fraternity in common affairs pertaining to this Mysterie, but also hath been a special furtherer of that praiseworthy and famous work, the erecting of the grand school at St. Lawrence Pountney's, happily finished and well maintained by this worshipful Company."

Without entering upon the general history of the school (which has been exhaustively done by another)² we may trace it for two or three years. The school rapidly filled up, not (as a witness before the late Royal Commission of the Guilds asserted) with Taylors' sons, but with pupils of all parents; Edmund Spenser being one.³

The statutes wisely provided for the periodical examination of the scholars, and upon the 16th August, 1562, a Board assembled comprising Bishop Grindal and Archdeacon Watts with other learned men, to examine the Ushers selected by Mulcaster and the scholars taught by him. The report commended both the Head Master and the Ushers whom he had chosen: the Master was grateful for their report and the Court well satisfied.

¹ Wilson, page 89, and page 225 *post*.

² Wilson, London, 1814.

³ Appendix 7, page 357.

That the Company had great good fortune in securing such a Master there can be no doubt, for Mulcaster must have been in advance of his age, as the pupils he equipped for the service of Church and State abundantly prove. Sir James Whitelock, one of these has left a record of his school training: "I was brought up (as he writes in his autobiography) at school under Mr. Mulcaster in the famous school of the Merchant Taylors in London, where I continued till I was well instructed in the Italian, Greek, and Latin tongues. His care was to increase my skill in music to which I was brought up in daily exercise of it as in singing and playing upon instruments and yearly he presented some plays to the Court in which his scholars were the only actors and I one amongst them and by that means taught them good behaviour and audacity."¹ Such a training was well suited for Spenser; and that Mulcaster was a Dramatist is seen by the household expenses of Queen Elizabeth, wherein are charged for the years 1573-4, twenty marks as paid to him for two plays presented before her on Candlemas and Shrove Tuesday, and twenty marks further for his charges; and again in 1575-6, when 10*l.* was paid to him for presenting a play before her on Shrove Sunday.² These plays or some others were performed in the Company's Hall until 1573,³ in which year they were stopped by order of the Court.

The school was next examined in November 1564, by the Bishop, Dean Nowell, and others who attended the former examination. It was a hard day's work, commencing at 8 A.M. and going on continuously till dinner time (possibly noon), when the whole assembly adjourned to the Hall and were entertained by the Stewards appointed for the dinner, aided in their expenses by a funeral legacy from the deceased, Henry Suckly. Dinner over, the business of the day was resumed at the school until 5 P.M., when a satisfactory report was presented to the Company.

The school, though no longer to be found at St. Laurence Pountney, is still the grand school established by Richard Hilles, not taking any praise to himself, but adopting for his motto that still used for the School, "*Homo plantat—homo irrigat sed Deus dat incrementum.*"

Having accomplished one of the two purposes which we have

¹ Camden Society (1858). Fuller's Worthies (Westmoreland), page 139.

² See Mulcaster's Life in Mr. Quick's new edition for the possible fact resulting from their employment, that Shakespere referred to Mulcaster in his character of Holofernes.

³ Part I, page 234.

assumed it was Hilles' desire to effect—the other, that of making some provision for the poor, was not forgotten by him. Whether the poor freemen have any legal claim on the alms of the Company has never been raised, but a moral claim we may presume Hilles to have recognised, for the provision which he made was for the poor of the Company. It was probably hopeless at that time to expect any aid in the matter from the funds of the Company, or to obtain co-operation from his colleagues, but still that did not stay his active benevolence. What was wanted was some provision for poor widows of the brethren who by death might be left homeless or in the Company's almshouses at the hall, thereby keeping out the primary objects for whom those houses were founded.

Now here, as in the school, the first requisite was to secure a good site, and before he quitted the mastership of the Company such had been purchased by and conveyed to him in fee simple. When Stow wrote, Hog Lane, now the Goods Station of the Black-wall Railway, was "a pleasant place, very commodious for citizens to recreate and refresh their dull spirits in the sweet and wholesome air." Indeed, so anxious were the citizens to keep the place such as Stow describes it, that when one Griffin built a tenement there, divided into several rooms, and put paupers therein, the Attorney-General (at the instance of the City authorities) brought him before the Star Chamber for punishment. Machyn thus describes one of Elizabeth's rides over the district:—

"[The x day of July the Queen came by water] unto the Towre of London by x [of the clock, until] v at nyght, and whent and sa(w) all her my[nts; and they gave the] Quen serten pesses of gold, and gayff the [lord] of Hunsdon had on, and my lord marques of [Northampton,] and her grace whent owt of the yron gatt [over] Towre hyll unto Algatt chyrche, and so down Hondyche [to the] Spyttyll, *and so downe Hoge lane*, and so over the feldes to the Charter howse my lord North('s) plase, with trumpetes and the penssyonars and the haroldes of armes and the servantes, and then cam gentyllmen rydyng, and after lordes, and then [the] lord of Hunsdon and bare the sword a-for the quen, and then cam [ladies] rydyng; and the feldes full of pepull, gret nombur [as ever was] sene; and ther tared tylle Monday."

In the 4th and 5th years of the reign of Philip and Mary, the estate in Hog Lane, in Portstoken Ward, which Hilles afterwards devised to the Company for the site of their Widows' Almshouses, was the property of Nicholas Heath, the Archbishop, and in 1562,

after passing through other hands, it was purchased and conveyed to Hilles.

That his original intention was that which he ultimately fulfilled in devising the estate to the Company for almshouses is curiously evidenced by this entry of the Common Clerk, found in the Court books, on the 23rd May, 1565 :—

“Memd. that at this day Mr. Rd. Hilles did receive of me John Huchenson his last will & test. wh. he had made & delivered to this house concerning all those his lands & teñts. situate lying & being at the Tower Hill nigh hoglane in the parish of St. Botolph extra Aldgate of London. To thentente to alter the same only concerning the letting out of the same by lease for years or otherwise at will during his pleasure & hath promysed to redelyver the same againe into the house very shortly.”¹ The design lay dormant during Hilles’ life, but was never lost sight of by him, and was realised by others after his decease.²

His time for relinquishing the mastership of the Company had arrived, and the first entry in the extant records is of the election of his successor, in an assembly held on Wednesday the 1st July, 1562, in the presence of the Right Honourable Sir W. Harper, the Lord Mayor, the Right Worshipful Richard Hilles, Master, at which were also present :

Sir Thomas White	} Aldermen.
Sir Thomas Offley	
Sir Thomas Rowe	
Mr. Richard Waddington.	
Mr. Thomas Acworth.	
Mr. Emanuel Lucar (Auditor).	

Mr. Richard Whethill (Master Elect).
Mr. Robert Rose.
William Merrick (Auditor).
John God (Auditor).
John Ollyff.
Thomas Browne (2nd Warden).
William Sulverd.
Thomas Tomlinson.
Gerrard Gore.
Robert Duckington. ³

Of the banquet given in celebration of this election, at which Sir Thomas White was present, Machyn has preserved this record:

“The furst day of July was the Marchand-tayllers’ fest, and dynyd my lord mare, the yerle of Sussex, the yerle of Kyldare, ser

¹ 21 May, 1565.—Key of Treasury “comytted unto the safe custody & keepyng of the Rt. Wpfull. Mr. R. Hilles to & for trust of this mystery.”

² Part I, page 196, *ante*, and page 231, *post*.

³ Page 252.

(*blank*) Stanley, and ser Thomas Whytt, ser Thomas Offeley and master Ro . . , ser Wylllyam Huett, ser Marten Bowes, master Cowper, master Allen, master Gyl[bert,] master Chamburlayn altherman, master Champyon, master Avenon, master Malere, and master Baskerfeld, and the master and the iiij wardens and the clarkes and the bedyll of the Skynnars, and mony worshephull men, and mony lades and gentyllwomen, and they had agaynst the dynner iij^{xx} and (*blank*) bukes and iiij stages; and master Wylliam Allen electyd shreyff for the quen, and master Whettelle the master, and master Raff Whytt hed warden and master Mar . . and master serjant Halle and master Browne wardens; and master Garter and master Clarenshux dynyd there.”

On the 6th July Richard Hilles retired from office and handed over the bonds and securities to Richard Whethill, his successor, and his last official act in this year was to attend with nineteen others of the Company upon the Lord Mayor in the approaching festivities, and to dine at his table at the great festival of St. Symon and St. Jude.

NOTE AS TO THE OFFLEY FAMILY.

Sir Thomas Offley's name has so often appeared in these pages that little more need be added to his personal history. The Offleys were a Staffordshire family, but one of them, William, migrated from Wolverhampton to Chester, of which city he was Alderman and then Sheriff (1517), and his portrait is in the Council Chamber there. He had two wives and twenty-six children, Sir Thomas Offley being the eldest. Sir Thomas's sister married Stephen Kirton of a family antiently connected with the Merchant Taylors Company. Sir Thomas Offley was remotely connected by marriage with Sir S. Jenyns, as John Nichol, the husband of his daughter, after her death married a daughter of William Offley, who had issue Joan, who became Sir Thomas Offley's wife. We have no record of his wardenship, but he was Master in 1547, when Sir Thomas White was one of the Sheriffs and Sir John Gresham (the Mercer) Lord Mayor. He was again in office with White, acting as Senior Sheriff, when Sir Thomas was Lord Mayor in 1553-4.

Within three years (1556-7) he became Lord Mayor, and as such he was knighted at Greenwich by Mary on the 7th February, 1556-7, Harper serving with him as Sheriff. The usual allowances were made for each of these offices by the Company and the pageant for his mayoralty is extant, being similar in character to Harper's, which we have printed elsewhere. He first lived in Lime Street, near St. Andrew's, but in June, 1571, obtained a lease from the Company of their house in St. Dionis Backchurch. Between 1551 and 1628 ten Offleys were admitted to the Merchant Taylors Company, some by apprenticeship, as Thomas (jun.) to S. Kirton, 1551; William¹ to Margaret

¹ William Offley, one of the Assistants, solicited to be excused from serving the office of Master, on account of infirm health—the Court gave him a frank dispensation wholly referring the fine to his own good will, when he promised to give the Company a Bason and Ewre of the value of one hundred marks.

Kirton, 1560; Robert, to John Vernon, 1595; and others by patrimony, as Henry, 1556; Richard, 1558, &c., so that it is not easy to distinguish their various relationships. It is noticeable that the Herald's visitation of 1568 states Sir Thomas Offley to have had only one son, Henry; but in March, 1573, he attended the Merchant Taylors Company to solicit a lease of Harper's late residence in Lombard Street, for his son "Richard." Thomas Offley, jun., was Warden in 1565, 1574, but never Master. Some members settled in St. Laurence Pountney parish.

Sir Thomas Offley must be considered as one of Hilles' friends, but his attendances at the Court or school were not very frequent. He was present on the election days for 1562-5, 1567-9, 1571-3, 1576, and his last attendance recorded is the 4th June, 1578. He was not unfrequently present at the Quarterly Courts, and when the Court considered in March, 1573, their right to elect scholars to St. John's College, and in March, 1574, when Mr. Mulcaster was admonished for contempt towards a Warden. He was also present when the Court dealt with the complaints of the fourteen Companies, on the 15th, 16th, and 21st May, 1571.

His will, as of a guildsman who had lived through and taken part in public affairs both before and after the Reformation is worthy of some notice, but he gave nothing to the Guild nor did he use it in any fiduciary capacity. It is dated 5th August, 1580, and is prefaced with a declaration of the testator's faith in the great Christian verity. He then gives direction for his burial in the church of St. Andrew's Undershaft, if dying in London (being a parishioner thereof). He was to be laid in the middle aisle of the church within the choir on the north side of the said middle aisle over against Mr. David Woodroff, Alderman, near whereunto his (Offley's) wife lies buried. Then according to what he describes "as the laudable custom of the City" he directs his personal estate to be divided into moieties—one moiety he gives to his son and the other he retains for his own disposal in charitable gifts. To the fifty poor men attending his funeral, fifty cloaks of cloth were to be given, and 10*l.* to the "Livery" of the Merchant Taylors Company for a funeral dinner "in their Common Hall." The University scholars were not overlooked, but 20*l.* only were to be distributed amongst those of both Universities. In the town of Stafford (the place of his birth) 100*l.* was given to the poor prisoners in the city, and small sums and legacies to other persons named, none (so far as I can trace) being guildsmen. The executors were his old friend the Lord Chancellor (Bromley) to whom he gave 40*l.* for his pains, and his brothers Robert and Henry to each of whom he gave 10*l.*

He died 29th August, 1582, and was buried at St. Andrew's Undershaft.

William, the grandson fined for Sheriff and Alderman, died in 1600 and was buried at St. Laurence Pountney. On the 7th January the Court Records state that there was the funeral dinner of Mr. W. Offley (a late worthy member of this Company) solemnised, and the whole livery were invited to dine at the Hall at a dinner which was provided for by the sum of 20*l.* given by Mr. Offley to the same end.

The Company has a circular rose water dish or basin about eighteen inches in diameter, parcel gilt, of Elizabethan style, and the Hall mark of 1590. The centre is repoussé and bears the arms of the donor, William Offley, granted in 1588, engraved on the boss, and the dish has the arms of the Company, the staple and the trade mark of the Offleys. It is one of the few pieces of plate that escaped the fire of 1666.

CHAPTER XIV.

SIR THOMAS WHITE'S LATER YEARS AND HIS
DONATION OF SCHOLARSHIPS FROM MERCHANT
TAYLORS' SCHOOL.

The Warren and Cromwell families, p. 174.—White's residence in London and in trade till his death, p. 175.—Depression of cloth trade, p. 175.—Plague, p. 175.—White's altered circumstances, p. 176.—New statutes for St. John's College, p. 176.—Establishment of the charities for Bristol and other places and the Merchant Taylors Company, p. 177.—Acton's example followed, p. 178.—Provision made for his brother Ralph, p. 178.—His last will, p. 179.—Provision made for nephew George, p. 180.—Letters to the city of Coventry as to his wife's jointure, p. 180.—Final arrangements with St. John's, p. 182.—White's probable reluctance to gift his scholarships to the School, p. 182.—Hilles' influence, p. 183.—Roman character of the College, p. 183.—Supplementary Statutes prepared, p. 183.—White's letter of 27th January to the President and Fellows, p. 183.—His letter of 2nd February with Statutes, p. 184.—Contents of Statutes, p. 185.—Death of White, p. 186.—Will proved by widow, p. 187.—Debts recovered by aid of Court, p. 187.—Sir W. Cordall's interview with the Court, p. 187.—Death of Widow, p. 191.—Retrospect of his life, p. 191.—NOTE. Devise of real estate to St. John's, Oxford, p. 193.

WE propose to gather up in this chapter the few remaining incidents of Sir Thomas White's life, and to explain the final arrangements which were made by him in favour of his collateral relations; the endowments held by the Bristol Corporation; and to connect the Merchant Taylors' school with his college at Oxford.

The incidents are few and the first relating to Lady White needs a sentence of explanation. By her former marriage she had two children, one a daughter, her namesake Joan, and the other a son Richard (whom White in his will referred to as his own). The daughter married Sir Henry Cromwell¹ (*alias* Williams), the parents referred to in Machyn's extract, and from their second son, Robert, came in the next generation Oliver Cromwell the Protector.² In 1561–2 Machyn writes thus :—

¹ Lady White died in his house, page 191 *post*.

² Noble's Cromwell (1787), page 85.

"The viij day of Feybruary was crystened the dowther of master (*blank*) Crumwelle, and she the dowther of ser Raff Warren knyght, gohyng to the chyrche a fayre mayd carehyng the chyld in a whyte saten gowne, and a-bowt and the mantyll of cremesune satyn fryngyd with gold of iiij ynchys brod, and the master of the rolles was the godfather and my lade Whytt godmother and (*blank*), and after a grett bankett at home."

In November, 1560, the affairs of his college engaged White's attention; he made a further endowment to it,¹ revised the statutes, and on the 16th sent them to the President, with a letter directing "that they should be sett in the librarie, and a lock to be sett on the librarie dore, and every one of the fellows to have a lock, that he may come to reade and knowe my statutes, and note in them owght he thinketh in them might be reformed." He nominated Hobbye as a fellow, and "gave Bridgman 4*d.* weekly to battell besides his ordinarie allowance."

His declining years were not those of commercial prosperity.² A severe outbreak of plague visited London in the years 1562-3, carrying off 17,404 persons by death. No Lord Mayor's feast was held or law term kept at Michaelmas, and the Company could not call their Livery together.³ In the same year the trade in cloth to the north of Europe, one of the mainstays of English commerce, began to receive a serious check, as Elizabeth, in the 5th year of her reign (cap. 7) enacted a restrictive tariff against the Netherlands, which led to retaliation by the Duchess of Parma who, holding the Netherlands, prohibited the exportation of articles needful for our English clothiers. Their trade previously had been so large that Macpherson⁴ (quoting Camden) states the English general trade at that period (1564) to have amounted to 12,000,000 of ducats, of which 5,000,000 were for cloth.

Measures of safety or retaliation were adopted by Philip of Spain, who commanded a proclamation to be made at Brussels that no English ship with any cloth should come to any place of the

¹ On the 29th November, he writes from London to the Mayor:—"I have sent you by the bringer hereof the writing between my college and you, with an obligation upon certain covenants, desiring you all that they may be sealed, and the bringer hereof shall deliver you your obligation by the w^{ch} you stand bound to me in. And as for the 80*l.*, w^{ch} I do give you above the 760*l.*, I will allow it you in the next reconing. No more so at this time, but Almighty God have you all in his keeping."

² Vernon's Ch. c. 397.

³ Part 1, page 233, *ante*.

⁴ Vol. 2, page 139.

Low Countries (for their admission was thought to be a source of danger), so that the wool fleet was discharged and the cloth fleet sent to Emden in Friesland, all trade in wool and cloth being for a time suspended. "To be short (continues Holinshed¹) the poor citizens of London were this year (1564) plagued with a threefold plague—pestilence, scarcity of money, and dearth of vittels, the miserie whereof were too long here to write."

That this depression inflicted loss and anxiety upon those engaged in the cloth trade were natural consequences. We find Hilles, in his letter to Bullinger of December, 1566, referring to his calling as a Merchant tormenting him with innumerable cares and anxieties,² and with reference to White's financial position it is be noted that he did not perform his marriage covenant either by purchasing land for his wife's jointure or depositing 3,000*l.* with the Mercers Company. From other facts, trifling in themselves, it may be inferred that the pressure of bad times was felt by him. Thus, although in the two compulsory assessments for the corn loan made on the Company in 1562 and 1565 he paid 1*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* and 5*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* (Hilles 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*), yet towards the two voluntary contributions for Sir Thomas Gresham's new Burse and the University Scholarships, which were made by the Company (in the interim between the two corn assessments), Sir Thomas White is not entered as giving anything.

In September, 1564, he visited St. John's, and while there nominated as the fourth President, Thomas Robinson, M.A., of Pembroke College, Cambridge; the record of his admission stating that it was made "in the presence of a Notary Public on the 15th September, 1564, when Sir Thomas White was present at Oxford in an upper chamber in the President's lodge."³

In the year 1566 he began to make his final arrangements for the disposal of his estate,⁴ taking as his counsellor in these matters his old friend Sir W. Cordell, then Master of the Rolls, and the President of St. John's. These arrangements embraced the disposition of the future rents of the Bristol trust estate; the making some provision for his collateral relations (for he had no issue); the further endowment of St. John's College, and the establishment of scholarships there in connection with the Merchant Taylors' School.

¹ Vol. 4, page 224.

² Page 197, *post.*

³ Vol. 4, Hist., MS., page 465.

⁴ On the 17th March, 1561, White, as the survivor of Sir Rowland Hill, and Sir I. Lyon, devised in trust six and a half acres of land at West Ham, Essex, to the Corporation of London.

My selfe and fellowes / I depose and sweare unto you being gathered
of this office, I have had experience none in my life tyme that
in conscience truly by lawdure in my College / nor before I came
thence you will any more before god / that you before me my
statute in this point / And that you have not but in the
lawdure atteste those to whom in my College from time to
time / No more to you all this tyme but god have you in his keeping
London the xxijth daye of October Do. 1566

By me Thomas Wyghe and alder man
of London



As Auditor
in 1548.

By me Thomas Wyghe alder man

The former a
best number of
George and the

George

17

It has been already mentioned in the earlier part of his life (1545) that White either gave or advanced to the city of Bristol 2,000*l.* with which the Corporation purchased lands in Somerset and Gloucester, these possibly were appropriated to White's use for life, but no trust had hitherto been declared respecting them after his death.

Bristol in White's time held a very conspicuous place in the cloth trade, and had a guild of Taylors in honour of St. John Baptist, in connection with which two worthy men, John Thorpe and John Shirp, on the 22nd October, 1399 (22 Richard II), founded a chapel in honour of God and St. John Baptist; obtained a licence to found, ordain, and incorporate a fraternity, to have and enjoy all good usages and ordinances without let for ever; and to purchase lands to sustain a chaplain. In the following year (1st May, 1400, 1 Henry IV) ordinances were made and confirmed under this charter.

The London and Bristol Guilds were probably in friendly relationship towards each other, as in 1496 Walter Povey (Master of the London Taylors in 1492) made a journey to Bristol with the Drapers at the request of his Company. There was therefore some reason for selecting the Bristol Corporation as the trustees for the other places, but the present governing authorities have no record of White, or knowledge of the motives which induced him to select their inhabitants as recipients of his bounty.¹

The deed is dated the 1st July, and though White was not technically one of the parties to it yet the deed must (we presume) have been framed according to his directions. The deed was presented to the Court on the same day, and at his request sealed with the corporate seal, this being the last Court that he ever attended.²

The substance of it is as follows³ :—

Between the city of Bristol of the first part, St. John's College

¹ I have communicated with all those places with the result stated; Bristol, Canterbury, Exeter, and Norwich have his portrait.

² These are the days of White's attendance from 1562 :—

5th July, 29th August, 14th and 15th December, 25th January, 22nd March, 1562 (4th Elizabeth).

6th July, 22nd March, 1563.

19th April, 26th June, 10th January, 15th January, 20th March, 1564, Quarterday.

2nd July, Court, 28th August, Assembly before quarterday—not at quarterly meeting, 10th and 11th December, Quarterly meeting, and 18th March, 1565.

3rd May, 1st July, and died 12th February, 1566.

³ Vol. 8 of Charity Commissioners' Report, page 585. Attorney-General *v.* Bristol, 3 Mad. Rep. 319, and 2 Jac. and Wal.

of the second part, and the Merchant Taylors Company of the third part. The trusts declared are in favour of, 1, Bristol; 2, York; 3, Canterbury; 4, Reading; 5, the Merchant Taylors Company; 6, Gloucester; 7, Worcester; 8, Exeter; 9, Salisbury; 10, West Chester; 11, Norwich; 12, Southampton; 13, Lincoln; 14, Winchester; 15, Oxford; 16, Hereford, east; 17, Cambridge; 18, Shrewsbury; 19, Lynn; 20, Bath; 21, Derby; 22, Ipswich; 23, Colchester; and 24, Newcastle. Out of the rents the city of Bristol has to pay 104*l.* to each of these recipients every 24th year, of which 100*l.* is to be lent in 25*l.*'s as a free loan for ten years to two young men of honest name and fame; inhabitants and occupiers (freemen and clothiers being always preferred), who are to be elected thereto by the several Corporations, but that no one is to receive the benefit of this loan more than once.

The towns selected were probably those in which White throughout his life had conducted his business, and the Merchant Taylors Company is ranked as one of these. Once in twenty-four years 104*l.* is paid to the Master and Wardens of which 100*l.* is to be applied according to the trusts of the deed, and 4*l.* for the expenses consequent thereon. To this extent only did Sir Thomas White benefit his Guild.

The manner in which this bounty is to be distributed is probably attributable to the example of White's master, Hugh Acton, who by his will left 100*l.* to be lent to four honest young men of good name and fame for the space of one whole year without interest, and that no man should have the use or occupying thereof above one whole year, which is, as will be seen, substantially the same trust as White's. Acton's will was doubtless the precedent which White adopted.

The President and Fellows of St. John's are to see to the execution of the trusts and to have an allowance (as the deed provides) for so doing. The rents have largely increased, but the city of Bristol is alone entitled to the increase.

The next thing that he took in hand, having no children, was to make some provision for his brother Ralph (who was Warden in 1562, but never Master), and his nephew Roger. This he did by aid of the President and Fellows of St. John's, out of the lands which, at the time of his original endowment of the college, he had vested in them.¹

¹ As to these arrangements see H. Com. Jour., page 112, and 18 Elizabeth, cap. 11, secs. 5 and 6.

By White's testamentary dispositions, as they then existed, his real estate stood devised upon trusts in favour of the twelve London Livery Companies, *i.e.*, the rents were to be paid in turn to each Company to be used as a loan fund for its freemen. To procure the devise of his real estate to the College, the President and Fellows were ready to make what White deemed to be a sufficient provision for his two collateral relatives.

Accordingly, on the 2nd July they granted Fyfield Manor to Ralph from the 14th March, 1568, for life, without reserving any rent, and from that date or Ralph's death they granted the same estate on the 3rd January following to Roger, the nephew, for ninety-nine years at the total yearly rent of 14*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*, and of conies to be delivered at the College weekly, *viz.*, four couples from 1st September to Christmas, and six couples from Christmas to Candlemas day.

With respect to the disposition of his own estates he made his will, originally on the 8th November, and finally on the 24th November, 1566. The introductory clause had reference to his interment, expressing his desire to be buried "in the house of my newly erected College of St. John with as much convenient speede as might be possible after my decease," to be "done honestly, without pomp or vain glory, charging his executors that they should not in any wise make any manner of feast or dinner here in London," an injunction not intended to extend to the Merchant Taylors Company, as he left "9*l.* for a refection or repast to the Livery within the Common Hall the day after his funeral."

He gave the half of his personalty to his wife (with all the household stuff that he had by his marriage with her) and the other half to his executors, but as the covenant of his marriage settlement had not been fulfilled, and 100 marks per annum had yet to be secured in land, he directed his executors, in lieu of depositing the 3,000*l.* with the Mercers Company, to pay that sum to the President and Fellows of St. John's for them to purchase land therewith in trust for his wife for life and then for the College.

From the will it was evident that the testator was in business. as various legacies were given to his servants, as his freedom of Muscovie to Gilbert Moxey,¹ and if he refuse to take it then to any apprentice² who will have it. Stephen French,³ another servant

¹ and ³ Apprentices admitted to the freedom on 11th March, 1562, and 14th December, 1565.

² Probably John Rowe or Thomas Glover, who afterwards, at the instance of Dame Joan, were admitted to the freedom on the 2nd of September, 1569, and 8th May, 1570.

might take 200*l.* worth of cloth out of stock at a valuation, giving a bond to pay for it by instalments of 15*l.* per annum.

The next gift, which was the subject of future negotiation, needs some explanation.

White during his life enjoyed the rents of the Coventry lands, but under the trust deed of 1551 (the due observance of which by the Corporation was secured by their corporate bond to the Merchant Taylors Company for 4,000*l.*), these rents from the day of his death became applicable to charitable trusts in favour of the freemen of Coventry. The Merchant Taylors Company were to see these trusts duly executed, and had, as they still enjoy, an annual sum paid to them for so doing.

Should the Corporation of Coventry make default in any trust payment, the deed reserved penalties recoverable by distress at the instance of the Merchant Taylors of 20*l.* for the first year's default with an accumulative penalty of 10*l.* for each subsequent year's default. However, although this interest ceased at his death, and could not be continued to his wife without a breach of trust, he gave to Dame Joan, his wife, as part of her jointure, the yearly sum of 46*l.* due and payable to him by the city of Coventry; and the testator heartily required the city of Coventry and the Merchant Taylors Company to agree thereto for "love of Almighty God and the love and favour I have borne to them, or otherwise if they do not thereunto agree it will overthrow a great part of this my will as to my said College."

The other legacies were, to Alderman Rowe, a black gown; to the daughter of Hugh Acton, my master, 50*s.*, and Magot, her son (Skinner), 50*s.*; to Sir W. Harper and wife, a black gown and coat; and to several relatives, servants and apprentices, gowns. His only charitable legacies were 40*s.* to each of the poor prisoners of the prisons of Newgate, Queen's Bench, Marshalsea, and Ludgate.

All that the Merchant Taylors Company had left to them by the will was 9*l.*, but individual members had small legacies given to them. His executors were his widow, Sir W. Cordell,¹ and William Gifford (brother-in-law) and the overlookers were Edmund Pleyden, Ralph White, and John Hutchinson (the Common Clerk).

The great benefaction of his will was that which came at the end of it: the devise to the President and Fellows of St. John's of several London houses,² with a direction for an immediate sale and to re-invest the proceeds in country lands for the college. Such a

¹ Sir William spelt his name with an *e* in his letter to Coventry, which has recently been sent to me, but I have spelt it on official documents as it is set out.

² See note at the end of the chapter.

direction to realise at the best advantage needed time, and the income was for some years more or less uncertain. Possibly, well had it been for St. John's (at least in the present day) if the estates had been left to realise the unearned increment from the citizens of London than from country farmers.¹

We must now turn our attention to matters of greater interest, viz., the arrangements made for applying the increased endowment of the College for the benefit of the great school of St. Laurence Poultny, for it was not until the days of Sir Thomas White's life were rapidly approaching to their termination that he made any provision for the scholars of the Company's school by connecting the school with his College of St. John.²

It is difficult to suppose that White could have felt any very zealous interest in the school establishment, but he must have accepted the fact that the school had proved to be a complete success, as evidenced by the rapid way in which scholars had filled it and from the results of the periodical examinations of the scholars which the statutes he had sanctioned provided for. Although we do not trace him as present at these examinations, he must have known that the special want, not only of this, but of other schools at this period, were scholarships at the Universities. "Here (writes Strype³) there was a mighty decay," as the revenues of the Church "had gone away to laymen, there was little encouragement for students in divinity." This had prompted Queen Elizabeth, as we have shown elsewhere, to urge the citizens of London to support, and the members of the Court of the Merchant Taylors Company to charge themselves, personally, for the maintenance of such scholars; but Sir Thomas White, though present, is not shown to have done so, although the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Rowe, Alderman, is mentioned as "having willingly granted 20s."

However, Hilles' character and known moderation in religious opinion may have been inducements for White to benefit the scholars, though it must have required some sacrifice of feeling on his part to give to a school founded under Elizabeth the benefit of his College established under Mary, and which he had filled with men of the Roman Church,⁴ so that upon Elizabeth's accession,

¹ The College has recently been compelled to obtain relief from University payments under Stat. XVIII (7), Appendix XI.

² Page 146, *ante*.

³ 4 Memorials, page 146.

⁴ During White's mayoralty "the poor schollers of Cambridge (Rep. 13, page 144, *b*), and Oxford (*ib.*, page 150, *b*), received contributions from the funds of the Corporation of London."

⁵ 4 Hol. Chron., page 415. Edmund Campian, the famous Jesuit, being a scholar.

and as consequent upon her measures, the first President, Alexander Belsire, and the second President, William Elye (of White's appointment), had to be removed for maintaining the papal authority.

All that remained now to do was to frame supplementary statutes for the admission of scholars to St. John's College from the Merchant Taylors' School, and this was taken in hand sometime anterior to February. White's directions were in the nature of a testamentary request made to the President and Fellows to frame good and sure statutes after his decease, which left a great deal for them to carry out. Looking, therefore, at the new element that was to be admitted, and from whence it came, how probable was it that strifes and controversies would arise between the new and old foundationers, and that his mind might be known as to the spirit in which these troubles should be met White wrote thus:—

“Mr. President, with the Fellowes and Schollers,

“I haue mee recommended unto you euen from the bottome of my hearte, desyringe the holy Ghoste maye bee amonge you untill the ende of the worlde, and desyringe Almightye God that euerye one of you maye loue one another as brethren; and I shall desire you all to apply your learninge and soe doinge GOD shall give you his blessinge both in this worlde and in the worlde to come. And further more, if any uariaunce or strife doe arise amonge you, I shall desyre you for God's loue to pacifye it as much as yō maye; and that doinge I put noe doubt but GOD shall blesse euerye one of you. And this shall be the last letter that euer I shall sende unto you, and therefore I shall desyre euerye one of you to take a coppye of yt for my sake. Noe more to you at this time, but the Lord haue you in his keeping untill th'ende of the worlde. Written the 27. of Januarye, 1566. I desyre you all to praye to God for mee that I maye ende my life with patience, and that he may take mee to his mercye.

“By mee Sir THOMAS WHITE, Knighte,

“Alderman of London, and

“Founder of St. Johns Colledge in Oxforde.”

Possibly an answer to his letter may have been received; but certainly on the 2nd of February Sir Thomas White wrote again, expressing his “very desire that the service of Almighty God might be maintained to the uttermost of his power,” and choristers appointed for the conduct of public worship.

“ Mr. President and Fellows,

“ I heartily recommend me unto you being glad to hear of your welfare which I pray God long to continue to God’s pleasure and to your hearty desire, viz., for that my very desire is that the service of Almighty God might be maintained to the uttermost of my power, I do therefore, will and require you that the six choristers appointed by my statutes be from time to time chosen and elected by my president for the time being, and for the more part of the ten seniors of my College, of the most aptist and metist that may be had for that purpose without respect of any place or country, so that he be born within England, any statute, letter, decree, or ordinance by me heretofore made to the contrary, in anywise notwithstanding, and if it please Almighty God to take me out of this transitory life before I put my hand to my statutes books for the assurance thereof, then I charge you and command you that you, and others that be put in trust by me to make statutes after my decease, do with as convenient speed as may be, make a good and sure statute for the performance of this my will and intent in that behalf, and keep this my letter to declare that this is my very deed herein. No more to you at this time but God have you in his keeping, the 2nd day of February, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1566, by me,

“ THOMAS WHITE, Knight, Alderman of London.”

The proposed statutes were enclosed and from what may be termed the “ preface,” it would appear that the scholars of London, not those especially of the Merchant Taylors Company’s School, were to be the objects of his foundation, thus :—

“ 1. Seeing there is nothing in all the society of man more divine, nothing more answerable to our nature than to be liberal and bountiful towards such to whom we think ourselves most beholden, neither are we tied in so sure a bond of friendship to any as to ye Londoners, amongst whom we have not only been long conversant, and brought up even almost from our infancy, but also have attayned and gotten ye greatest part of such goods and commodities (which now by God’s permission and mercy we enjoy). Therefore being stirred up with that face of charity and piety which we bear towards our citizens, we do appoint, ordain, and will that forty-three of your poore Scholars which either within London or the suburbs of the same, shall bestow their time

diligently in grammar, be admitted into this our college, founded and endowed at our own costs and charges, and they shall enjoy all such commodities which the now Scholars of the same college presently possess."

He then gives particular directions how and by whom these scholars shall be chosen, and then declares his regard for the Merchant Taylors Company and his preference for their scholars.¹

"4. And to the end these Scholars may continue for ever, we will prescribe and set down and order our manner unto which we will have all them to be bound to it shall appertain, denunciate, choose, and admit any Scholars into this said College.

5. And although we dearly love all of London, yet we bear especial love to such which are called by the name of Merchant Taylors (in the number of whom we profess ourselves to be), therefore we will that by the Worshipful the Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors' Company of the fraternity of St. John the Baptist, with the consent of the Assistants of the said fraternity, with the assent and consent of the President, or, in his absence the Vice-President, and two of the senior Fellows there be assigned and named by continual succession of time forty-three Scholars of honest conversation and integrity of life so instructed in grammar that they may be thought fit and able to study logic, having taken degree in no science, neither under fourteen years of age nor above nineteen, nor bastards, and as free from any blemish of the mind, so not stained with any deformity of body, either born or instructed in the grammar in London, or in the suburbs of the same, and let all them be named and chosen by the Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and although we give free power within them to choose all Scholars able and meet in London and in ye suburbs thereof learned in the grammar as oft as any one place or more of these which shall be assigned unto the forty-three Scholars shall be void, yet notwithstanding we will have these Scholars in all elections to be preferred before the rest, which have bestowed their diligence in learning grammar in the schools of learning of the aforesaid fraternity, in the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney, the which school we do the more affect, because it was built and endowed with living by the Master and Wardens and Assistants of the same, so that always the Master and Wardens

¹ The Statute also gave two scholars to each of the Schools of Coventry, Bristol, and Reading, and one scholar to Juddes School at Tonbridge.

and Assistants with the President, &c., do find so many there fit and able to learn logic.

The remaining statutes having reference to these scholarships will be found elsewhere.¹ It will be noticed that in the concluding statutes Sir Thomas White gave nominations :—1. To his wife Joan, and then to her son (whom he calls his son), Richard Warren. In like manner he calls Joan Cromwell (Richard's sister) "his well-beloved daughter," and gives her a nomination for her son.

In the 27th Article he again adverts "to the schools in London" and lays down a rule which has been perhaps too much lost sight of, "that y^e fathers of his scholars should not have goods and chattels exceeding 100 marks in value."

We must now advert to the correspondence with the Corporation of Coventry as to Lady Joan's annuity which White had charged them to pay to her after his decease. He appears to have made the President of St. John's the bearer of a letter to them written in these terms :

"LONDON, 1st February, 1566.

"Mr. Mayor and Aldermen,

"I heartily commend me unto you being glad to heare y^t that you be in good health in the wch I beseech God long to continewe you. Whereas I have gently written unto you heretofore to lett my wife to have an Annuity of 46*l.* for pte of her jointure during her life. Now I require you as you shall answer before God at y^e day of judgment y^t you do without delay lett my wife have the 24*l.* assured unto her during her life. I trust y^t as you be worshipful men so you will consider w^t gentleness I have showed to you and to your Citty. First whereas the Parke was owte by lease I lent you 200*l.* to bye the Lease into your owne hands and did forbear the same great while and by means of the said Lease the Parke is now come wholly into your owne hands, furthermore when you purchased the Chauntry lands you had of me 1,000*l.* or thereabouts to helpe you to purchase with all wch was a great furthering to your purchase and besides this with money wch I gave you bought lands of King Henry the 8th for certaine uses to comodity of yore Citty wch you know right well wch lands be farr better in

¹ Appendix 7, page 357. The present governing statutes (1881) are found in Appendix 11.

vallue at this day then they were purchased for as you right well know, in manner double, you have had the lettings of Leases, the sale of woods and all other Comoditys belonging to the said lands for these 21 or 22 yeares or thereabouts. I do know that some Leases be come into yore hands by this time wch be four times more of value than they were purchased for of all these Comoditys coming above the rents have I received none, but have suffered you to receive ye benefitt from time to time for the love I did beare to yore Citty and Cittyzens of Coventry wherefore seeing I have borne and showed so goodwill to you and yore Citty always ready to fulfil yore suits and requests I do assuredly trust y^t you will not be so unkind as to deny this my reasonable request not desireing anything but my owne & not to take it quite away from you but that my wife may have it dureing her life onely & this shall I desire you for God's love to grant to my wife & so doing shall you do me high pleasure and otherwise not doing this you shall overthrowe a greate piece of my Colledg whereof it should be great pitty. No more to you at this time but almighty God have you in his keepinge. At London the 1st of February in Anno 1566.

“By me, THOMAS WHITE, Alderman of London.”

Before this letter could have reached its destination another was despatched on the 3rd February, 1566, in these words :—

“Mr. Mayo^r and Aldmen,

“I have me most heartily recommended unto you even from the bottome of my heart desireing you most heartily that my wife may have her joynter according as I writt before unto you. If not I shall overcast my Colledg for ever which I trust you will not suffer to be done and therefore I shall desire you for the love you beare to God that you helpe me with it, or else I am utterly ashamed in this world and in the world to come. No more at present to you, but Almighty God have you in his keeping.

“At London the 3rd of February, 1566,

“By me, THOMAS WHITE, Knight, Alderman of London.”

Such a request from such a friend could not be altogether denied to him, and therefore they sent their answer through the President that they would be glad and ready to accomplish his request if the Court of the Merchant Taylors would assent thereto. Thus the matter rested at the death of White on the 12th February, 1566.

The reply received from the city of Coventry by Sir Thomas White rendered it necessary that Sir W. Cordell, as his executor, should obtain the consent of the Merchant Taylors Court to the payment of Lady Joan White's jointure in the manner provided for by his will, and accordingly on the 18th March, he had a long interview with them which is thus recorded in their books:—

“At a Quarterday Court held 18th March, 1566, 9th Elizabeth, this tripartite deed, bearing date 1st July, 1566, was delivered over to the Company by Sir Wm. Cordall, Knt., Master of the Rolls, when it was stated that Sir Thos. White departed this present life the 12th February last past (to whom God grant a joyful resurrection).

“Sir Wm. Cordall requested ‘this house according to the great affyance, truste, and confidence that the said Sir Thos. White always had and put in them, that they would as much as in them did lye from time to time see that the said Mayor, Burgesses, and Comm^{ty} of Bristol should employ, disburse, deliver, and pay the said 10*4*l. yearly for ever, according to the true meaning of the said Indenture tryptyted,’ and in so doing the said Master of the Rolls declared that this house should therein find him to be assisting and helping to them not only therein as much as in him did lye. But also would do the best to procure other his friends to do the like if need should require, not only in the furtherance of that good act, but also of any other the like good act devised and done by the said Sir Thomas Whyte not only for that he was made one of the executors to the said Sir Thos. White as only for that the said his acts tend holy to the advancement of the common wealth of this our country. After which request and exortation made as aforesaid, They the said Mr, Wardens, and Assists. after thanks giving to the said Master of the Rolls not only for his gentle offer made as aforesayde, But also for his good will to them then shewed replied and said, That they nothing doubted, but as they themselves were very willing and would for their parts do as much as in them and should lie to accomplish the trust and confidence in them put by the said Sir Thos. White their late loving brother, So they nothing doubted but that their successors in tyme to come would by God's grace do the like and herewithall the said Master of the Rolls was very well contented, and tendered to them his hearty thanks therefore accordingly.”

But what Cordell had said about Bristol was only half his errand, and should with greater propriety have been addressed to

the President and Fellows of St. Johns, whose duty it was (under the deed) to see the trusts of it carried out, the more difficult part lay behind, which is thus expressed:—

“Also further at this day the said Master of the Rolls declared and showed forth unto the foresaid Masters, Wardens, and Assistants, how that the foresaid Sir T. White, by his last will and testament, among other things hath devised and disposed unto Dame Joan his wife for term of her natural life, as in part and recompence of her joynture which he was bound to leave to her after his decease, one annuity or yearly rent of 46*l.*, to be paid by the Mayor, Bayliffs, and Commonalty of Coventry, payable at two feasts or terms of the year, that, is to wit, at the feast of the Annunciacion of our Lady and St. Michael, to be changed by even portions. But also he by the said last will and testament doth hartily require the said Mayor, Bayliffs, and Commonalty of Coventry, and also the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of this Company to agree thereunto for the love of Almighty God, and for the love and favor that he had borne and done to them, or else if they do not thereunto agree it will as he said overthrow a great part of the same his will and former devise, made for such number of scholars to be in his college as he had yearly appointed for this his said Company for to be.

“Whereupon the said Sir T. White in his lyf time, and a little before his death, writ his letters to the foresaid Mayor, Bayliffs, and Commonalty of Coventry to the same effect as is aforesaid, that is, that they would pay to my Lady his wife during her natural life, the full of 46*l.* by year, as in part of recompense of such her jointure as the foresaid Sir Thomas was bound to leave her, whereof she had assurance of 24*l.*, and of the 22*l.* residue as then and as yet she hath no assurance of. Whereunto they sent the said Sir Thomas answer, that they would be glad and ready to accomplish his request therein, so far forth as the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of this Company would assent thereunto, and would take no advantage of their bond for the same during the payment thereof, in consideration not only of the request made by the said Sir T. White by the word of his last will and testament to them and to the said Mayor, Bayliffs, and Commonalty of Coventry made as aforesaid, but also for that the granting and assenting thereunto will help much to the furtherance and establishing of other his godly foundations and devyses being not as yet thoroughly established.

“Therefore the said Master of the Rolls did make earnest request to the said Master, Wardens, and Assistants that they would

condescend, assent, and agree that they, the said Mayor, Bayliffs, and Commonalty, may grant to pay unto the said Lady Whyte the full of 46*l.* by year during her natural lyf, any bonds heretofore made to the contrary notwithstanding; wherunto it was answered that they were very willing and desyrus and would be very glad for his sake to pleasure my Lady in accomplishing the request made by the said Sir Thomas White accordingly, so that they were advised by their learned counsel that the assenting thereunto should not be unto them prejudicial or hurtful.

“And forasmuch as they had not then present with them their learned counsel, therefore the said Master of the Rolls did like very well that they the said Master, Wardens, and Assistants, according unto their request in that behalf made, should take a convenient time to have the advice of their learned counsel therein before they would give their resolute answer. Whereof she prayed their answer as shortly as they could conveniently, and so he toke his leave.”

Here the Master of the Rolls left the Court which needed advice as to the risk which the Company incurred by permitting the Corporation of Coventry to pay Dame White instead of applying the annuity to the declared trusts of the Coventry deed; accordingly the entry continues:—

“After whose departure Mr. Jeffries, one of the counsel learned to this house, was sent for to come to this place who came incontinent.¹ And after his counsel had of and in the premises it was by the foresaid Master, Wardens, and Assistants fully agreed and decreed, That they the said Master, Wardens, and Assistants should assent that they the said Mayor, Bayliffs, and Commonalty of Coventry should grant, if it should so seem good to them, to pay the full of the said 46*l.* a year unto the said Lady Whyte during her natural life, any bond heretofore made to this house by the said Mayor, Bayliffs, and Commonalty to the contrary notwithstanding.

“And further, that request be made to the said Mayor, Bayliffs, and Commonalty that they would surrender into this house their bond of 500*l.*, which this house made unto them concerning the granting of 24*l.* by them to be paid to the said Dame Joan to the intent that there be made one only instrument or bond between them the said Mayor, Bayliffs, and Commonalty of Coventry and this house concerning the payment of the said 46*l.* unto the said Dame Johane Whyte during her natural lyf accordingly. And it is also

¹ This and many other instances occur in which the Court acted under the personal advice of Counsel without the intervention of any Solicitor.

agreed that the foresaid Master and Wardens, or such others as they shall appoint, do cause the Master of the Rolls to be certified of this their assent to his request made as aforesaid to-morrow being the 19th of March accordingly."

The question was thus thrown back on the Corporation of Coventry to decide, whether they would as requested by the Master of the Rolls apply the rents to Lady Joan's annuity, or to the poor of their own city. The formal application was made to them on the 20th March¹ by the executors but without success. They were "neither minded to depart with any revenues of our lands either to her Ladyship or otherwise, but only to employ it to Sir Thomas White's first meaning."²

As to other matters of White's executorship little need be written. He was buried at St. John's,³ and his will was proved in December, 1567, by his widow, but the value of his personal estate is not recorded. Small debts from members of the craft were paid to her by the intervention of the Company, as these entries, illustrative of the quasi judicial action of the Master and Wardens in that period, will show:—

"13th June, 1567.—Item, at this day John Sarr, a brother of this mystery, hath promised to pay or cause to be paid unto Dame Joan Whyte, relict Thomas Whyte, Militis and Alderman, London, def., 58s., which he did owe unto the said Sir Thomas White *for cloth of him had and received* in manner and form following, viz. :—At Midsomer next ensuyng, 8s.; at Michaelmas then next ensuyng, 5s.; at Christmas then next ensuyng, 5s.; and so forth quarterly at every quater one next ensuyng an other 5s., until the said some of 58s. be well and truly contented and paid."

"Item, at this day Richard Tysdale hath promised to pay unto Dame Joan Whyte, relict Thomas Whyte, Militis and Alderman, London, def., 39s. 8d. in form following, viz. :—At the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next comynge, 4s. 8d.; at Michaelmas then next ensuing, 5s.; and at Christmas then next ensuing, 5s.; and so forth quarterly at every quarter one next ensuyng, another

¹ Appendix 8, page 360.

² "Remembrances, from the City of Coventry, to Mr. Denton.

"First to speak to Mr. Recorder that it w^{ld} please him to travel with the M^r of the Rolls and the Lady White concerning their request by their letters to us, and to show to him the copy of our evidences and their letters to us.

"Item, to declare to Mr. Recorder that we are neither minded to depart with any revenues of our lands either to her lady or otherwise, but only to employ them to Sir Thomas White's first meaning."—Folio 65, Coventry Corporation Records.

³ The books neither of the Herald's Office nor of the Merchant Taylors Company contain any entry relating to his funeral, except as to the dinner, Part I, page 184.

5s. untill the said some of 39s. 8*d.* be well and truly contented and paid." And another entry of the same date shows that Davy Evers promised to pay 10s. 10*d.* by three instalments.

Dame Joan was a tenant of the Company as to tenter grounds in Moorfields, and appears to have carried on the testator's business until her death, which happened on the 8th February, 1572, at the house of her son-in-law, at Hinchinbroke. She was buried by the Heralds near her first husband in St. Bene't's, Sherehog, but left to the Merchant Taylors Company a legacy for a funeral repast to the Livery.¹

In the retrospect of White's life one or two observations are naturally suggested. In the first place it would appear from the constraint imposed upon him after his election as Alderman that his original purpose was not to serve his fellow citizens as an office bearer in the Corporation, notwithstanding which he discharged the duties of Lord Mayor with considerable distinction, two incidents of varying importance being recorded of him—the one his defence of London in a threatening rebellion, and the other his reforming the sumptuary excesses of his fellow citizens.

In founding his College of St. John he was not only following the dictates of his own inclination, but serving the higher necessities of the Church and State, for by the suppression of the religious houses, and the confiscation of their revenues, the support given to University students by those houses was withdrawn, and with learning, White associated religion providing for Chaplains, Organist, and Choristers,² "his very desire being to the uttermost of his power to maintain the service of Almighty God."³

That he designed the benefit of his fellow citizens in his foundation is evidenced by his will of 1558,⁴ and by his later statutes of 1566 connecting the London schools and principally the Merchant Taylors' School with the College; he must, therefore, be reckoned as one of the many benefactors to London.

His donations for charitable purposes to various cities and towns in several English counties are not so easily accounted for as the intercourse he held, and the friendships he formed, with the inhabitants are facts not disclosed in his life.

To the people of Coventry, the objects of his bounty in 1542, he

¹ "1572-3. *Master's Account*.—Received of Mr. Richard Warren, Esquire, for so much given by Dame Joan White, his mother, late wife to Sir Thomas White, Knt., while he lived, a worthy and beneficial member of this mystery, for and toward a repast to be made for the Livery of the said Company, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*," and page 174. She also gave a standing cup and cover (24½ ounces) to the Mercers Company.

² Page 337.

³ Page 185.

⁴ Page 146.

wrote,¹ "Consider what gentleness I have showed to you and to your city," "the love I did beare," "always ready to fulfil your suits and requests." Whether for the poor of the four other places he felt the same regard is only to be inferred from his giving to them the same benefits as he gave to the poor of Coventry.²

His regard for the people of Bristol and twenty-three other places, is also to be measured by the "especial love"³ he bore "to such which are called Merchant Taylors," for he gave to the inhabitants of those places the same benefits as he conferred upon the freemen of the Merchant Taylors Company.

Such then, are some of the incidents of Sir Thomas White's life, as after a long interval of years we have been able to glean. His career as a citizen in times of great religious trouble and perplexity is worthy of all praise, for his life was eminently useful and the disposition of his estate charitable. He was wise in the choice of friends and quick to detect hypocrisy. Reared in the Roman Church and under the shadow of a grand abbey, if not within its precincts, he had to witness many destructive acts which he might deem to be sacrilegious, and to accept many theological changes which might seem to him heretical; but that did not extinguish his devotion or charity. To the close of his life, his desire was to maintain to the uttermost of his power the due celebration of public worship in the National Church and to promote peace; for of the bitter fruits of religious controversy he had seen enough, and more than enough; therefore his last words of counsel to the President and Fellows of his College were the reiteration of those of his Divine Master, that they should love as brethren, and, as strife might arise, then that "they should for God's love pacify it," adding that in so doing "God shall blesse everye one of you."

Granting that all his gifts were of equal utility when they were made, the change in the social condition of life has wrought a great present inequality: for time has increased the usefulness of his College, but annihilated that of his other⁴ endowments for loans and doles. Then a loan of 25*l.* enabled an honest freeman, as in Sir L. Halliday's case, to commence trade, and, by industry, to succeed, now that, or a dole, is worse than useless. It therefore behoves those who cherish Sir Thomas White's memory and desire that time shall not diminish its lustre to move forward in the direction to which all evidence tends and mould his bounty to the needs of the present generation.

¹ Page 181.

² Page 103.

³ Page 183.

⁴ Kenny on Endowments. London, Reeves and Turner, 1880.

NOTE.—DEVISE OF REAL ESTATE TO THE COLLEGE OF ST. JOHN, OXFORD, BY SIR THOMAS WHITE'S WILL OF NOVEMBER, 1566.

Description.	Parish.	Tenant.	Rent.	
			£ s. d.	
Message	Popinjay Alley, Fleet Street .. .. .	.. .. .	3 15 0	
Mansion house, tenements and gardens, melting house and stable	St. Andrew's, Wardrobe.. .. .	Richard Swire	5 12 8	
The "Whitehart"	St. Nicholas Shambles, Christchurch	Percivale	5 0 0	
Message and two shops	St. Lady Aldermanbury	John Blayden	7 0 0	
Two messuages, with shops and work house	Bow Lane, Cheapside	Peter Baker (scrivener)	5 9 3	
One message	Ditto	Thomas Fox (M.T.C.)	4 0 0	
Ditto	Ditto	Henry Adams	5 10 0	
Ditto	Ditto	Henry Adams	5 10 0	
Work house and chamber	Ditto	Henry Adams	2 0 0	
Message	Against St. Mary Aldermanbury, Bow Lane	William Chambers	4 13 0	
Two messuages	Farnban Lane	Miss Coxam	4 3 6	
	St. Thomas Apostle	Thomas Hanson		
Great message and two messuages	Stakes Inn, Maiden Lane, St. Michael.. .. .	Robert Abbott and others	13 6 8	
Another tenement	Ditto	James Wilson	1 0 0	
Ditto	Ditto	Cheny-fysek	5 0 0	

DEVISE OF REAL ESTATE TO ST. JOHN'S—continued.

Description.	Parish.	Tenant.	Rent.	
			£ s. d.	
Cellar under States Inn	..	Robert Warner	4 0 0	..
Thirteen small tenements	..			
One shop	..	Flokes	9 10 0	..
Shop with house over	..	Richard Ness	4 0 0	..
Message	..	Thomas Natropp	1 12 0	..
Two messuages	..	John Hollyland	4 0 0	..
Two other tenements	..	Thomas Stacy	2 0 0	..
Message	..	Ralph Pinder	4 0 0	..
Ditto	..	Thomas King	3 6 8	..
Message and warehouse	..	Coxon	3 0 0	..
Two warehouses	..	William Newington	2 0 0	..
One shed..	..	William Newington	0 13 4	..
Message	..	John Clarke	1 0 0	..
Message or mansion	..	William Burce	6 13 4	..
Little house	..	Camlet	1 0 0	..

All these premises sold for a total sum of 3,634*l.*

CHAPTER XV.

HILLES' LIFE TO THE CLOSE OF HIS CORRESPONDENCE
WITH BULLINGER IN 1574.—WHITE'S
SCHOLARSHIPS.

*Hilles' continued interest in the Company's affairs, p. 195.—Correspondence with Bullinger in 1562, p. 196.—No reference therein to city affairs, p. 196.—Plague in London and Flanders, p. 197.—Hilles at Antwerp, p. 197.—Letters of August, 1566, p. 197.—Bullinger's family afflicted with the plague, p. 197.—Hilles' reading of his works, p. 198.—His wife's health, p. 198.—His own declining strength, p. 198.—View of Hilles' inner life, p. 198.—His letter of August, 1567, p. 198.—Refers to English Church affairs, p. 199.—Vestment controversy, p. 199.—Hilles' return in March, 1567, p. 200.—White's gift to St. John's not sufficient to support the full establishment, p. 200.—What annual pension was needed for each scholar, p. 200.—Votes, p. 200.—Hardship on St. John's scholars, p. 200.—Cordall Visitor, p. 201.—Hilles appointed to wait on him, p. 201.—President and Fellows to come up to London at the cost of the Company, p. 202.—First scholars appointed 1572, p. 202.—Cordall contributed to their support, p. 202.—No scholars in 1573, as the College could not maintain them, p. 202.—This not satisfactory to Visitor or Company, p. 202.—Remonstrance of Company, p. 202.—Cordall visits the College, p. 202.—Hilles to aid the Master and Wardens in making their claim against the College, p. 202.—Award of 1574, p. 203.—Election of two and four scholars sent up, p. 203.—Misunderstanding between College and Company, p. 203.—Loan of 100*l.* to the College, p. 203.—Benefit derived, p. 203.—Walter Fish's Battelings, p. 203.—Great need explained by President and Fellows, p. 204.—Concluding correspondence with Bullinger, p. 204.—Letter of February, 1570, p. 205.—Rebellion in the North, p. 205.—Letter of July, 1571, p. 205.—Letter of March, 1571, p. 205.—Hilles a channel for the bounty of others, p. 208.—Advances of money, p. 208.—His last letter to Bullinger, February, 1572, p. 209.—Takes a house in the Vintry, p. 211.—Coverdale's death and widow, p. 212.—Note of Court attendances, p. 213.*

THE tenor of Hilles' life, so far as it is recorded, when he was in England and in health, was passed in promoting the interests of the school and protecting those of his Guild, for he was seldom absent from his place in the Court of the Company. In 1565 he was made the custodian of one of the keys of the Treasury, and in 1569-70 was appointed Auditor, and probably continued such for some years.

The reign of Elizabeth was an eventful epoch in the history

of education and of commerce, in each of which the Merchant Taylors Company had to bear its part. During this period the counsel of such a man as Hilles must have been invaluable¹; the influence of his example and character considerable, in leading other members of the Court to use their wealth for benevolent purposes. However, before entering upon these topics we must recur to his correspondence with Bullinger, and bring it down to the date of this narrative.

It is a remarkable feature that Hilles, though taking an active part in the affairs of his Guild and of the Corporation of London, never makes in his correspondence any reference to either of these bodies, or to his own actions as a member thereof. His letters deal with far more important subjects, such as the incidents of church and national history, or even graver subjects, such as concern the higher life. They open with a letter from him of the 30th July, 1562, soon after he had relinquished his mastership, and in which he adverts with thankfulness to the aspect of public affairs.

"We English (God be thanked!) are still living in much peace and quietness. Nevertheless the Queen appears to be considering the evils that may possibly be hanging over us, and is apprehensive lest any misfortune should arise to the realm by reason of negligence and inactivity; that is, lest any foreign prince (in the event of the disorders, which still exist in France, being settled), should be stirred up by the Roman pontiff or any other foreign papists who adhere to him, to find some occasion of quarrel against her; when the real ground of offence would be, that the authority of Her Majesty, in the council of parliament, and by the consent of the whole realm, has done away with his usurped power, and the continuance of the superstitions, abuses, and idolatry which heretofore crept into the catholic church. The Queen however has a great number both of soldiers and ships already prepared for the defence of her kingdom, should it be necessary. My wife and children, thank God, are well."

The state of preparedness in which the city was kept at this time is shown in Harper's life by the precept which was addressed to the Merchant Taylors Company and obeyed, to call and arm a contingent of soldiers ready to aid upon an immediate summons to duty.²

Following upon this letter came trouble, for later in the year

¹ See Table of Hilles' attendances at the Courts of the Company, in note at page 213.

² Page 251, *post*.

the plague which, as we have shown in the last chapter raged in London, spread itself to Germany and "poisoned such peopled places as Frankfort so that by estimation 300,000 died." Fortunately Hilles and his family escaped the fatal contagion, but Bullinger's family suffered severely.

Hilles left England for Antwerp in September, 1566, whether for safety from plague (escape being often resorted to) or for his business matters is not stated, but in December (28th) we find him writing "almost ashamed and grieved in reply" to Bullinger's letter of the 28th August. He opens thus :—

"May the Lord Jesus comfort you in every thing, and support you in your declining years, and above all never fail you in your old age!"

He explains that he has "abstained from writing chiefly on account of my harsh, barbarous, and unsuitable Latinity." He acknowledges the receipt of the "United Confession of the Helvetian Churches," written in German (which had been enlarged and improved in 1556), and a book from Bullinger of which Hilles had read the Latin edition with great pleasure, "for it everywhere preaches godly and sincere doctrine." He then proceeds :

"Master Abel¹ also informed me that your three married daughters had died of the plague. I doubt not but that they died in the Lord, and are therefore blessed, not only because they rest from their labours, but also because they without doubt enjoy everlasting life with Christ our Saviour; as does also their excellent mother, your pious wife. Since you are now, by divine providence, left a widower, and no longer a young man, I doubt not but that you will follow the counsel of the apostle St. Paul, where he says, '*For I would that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that. I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I.*' And again, '*Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife.*'"

He continues to write thus :

"God be praised that you have finished the hundred and ninety homilies on the prophet Isaiah! When they are printed, I will, God willing, if I live, procure a copy; for I doubt not but that their publication will be attended with much advantage. I am sorry that you feel your strength is gradually failing; yet I hope

¹ See page 140, *ante*.

for certain that our good and gracious God will not desert you in your old age, and I will pray to him on your behalf, as you desire me to do. God grant that he may hear my prayer, who hath said, '*Whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, he shall give it you.*'

"I will salute my wife in your name. I know she will rejoice greatly, as soon as she hears of your good wishes; for she has a great regard for you. It will give her much pleasure when she hears from me that you are still, as you say, by the blessing of God, in tolerable health. She is every now and then greatly afflicted with the stone; sometimes indeed almost to death. Entreat, I pray you, the Lord in her behalf. I fear this disease will at length prove fatal."

"I am anxious to explain to my wife some portion of the confession of the Helvetic churches. She occasionally reads in the book, and sometimes makes it the subject of her meditation, as she is tolerably conversant with your language."

Hilles then makes reference to his own weak health and commercial anxieties:

"My strength has been so declining for nearly the last three years, and my mind so weak, that I often wonder that I have lived so long. May the will of the Lord evermore be done! But I desire to be dissolved and be with Christ. In the mean time, while I remain here, I am often so tormented by innumerable cares and vain anxieties¹ (those namely arising from my calling as a merchant), that I would far rather, if the Lord had so willed, be destitute of the trifling pleasures and empty joys of this world, so mingled, or rather altogether imbued, as they are with anxieties and disturbances of mind, than be in the enjoyment of such things. But the will of the Lord be done!"

The glimpse which this letter gives of the inner life of Hilles shows the unabated interest which he still continued to take in the religious opinions of the German and Swiss reformers; how abiding was his affection for Bullinger, and how constant his study and how practical his application of the Holy Scriptures to the affairs of daily life. The same points are observable in his next letter, of August, 1567:—

"I received, four months since, from John Abel (who also desires his best respects) a large volume, namely your Isaiah, as expounded in your homilies, together with your very gratifying

¹ As to these, see Chapter XVI, page 226.

letter, dated on the 25th of last February. You have presented me with that volume, that I may have this gift from you as a memorial of our uninterrupted friendship, which, God willing, it shall be. I have also purchased from my very dear brother, the aforesaid John Abel, the book of Daniel with the epitome, expounded in your sixty-six homilies. Both books delight me exceedingly, and I hope that the homilies in each volume will be productive of no little benefit to faithful and diligent readers."

He then adverts to English church matters, and to the great controversy of vestments, which (writes Dean Hook)¹ disturbed the peace and distracted the mind of Archbishop Parker during the first years of his episcopate. "Some," wrote Cecil to Elizabeth, "officiate with a surplice, and others without it." As measures must be taken to secure uniformity, Parker put forth certain ordinances known as "advertisements," which enjoined the principal minister to use a cope in the administration of the Holy Communion; the Dean and Prebendaries to wear a surplice and silk hood in the choir, and the latter when they preached. The controversy reached its climax in 1566, when in March the advertisements were put in force against the London clergy.²

Hilles writes:—

"Let us heartily pray the Lord to deign to give us peace in our days. This indeed still remains undisturbed, by the blessing of God, in this realm of England; except that some of our preachers (though not among the most learned), kept back by too great scrupulosity, or overcome by vain glory or some measure of popular applause, are still occasionally disturbing it by impugning or opposing the ordinance of the Queen and the whole realm, touching the use or wearing of the surplice in the church during the singing of the psalms, the reading of the lessons, and the administration of the sacraments. But I am of opinion with holy Jerome³ (in his first book against the Pelagians), that it is no offence against God, for a bishop, presbyter, and deacon, and all other ecclesiastics to walk in a white garment in the administration of the sacraments. Moreover, religion requires one kind of habit

¹ Lives of Archb., Vol. XI, page 369.

² Strype's Life of Parker, Vol. I, page 428.

³ Unde adjungis, gloriam vestium et ornamentorum Deo esse contrariam. Quæ sunt, rogo, iniunctiæ contra Deum, si tunicam habuero mundiorum; si episcopus, presbyter, et diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus in administratione sacrificiorum cum candida veste processerint? Adv. Pelag. Lib. i. cap. 9. Tom. II. page 277. Antv. 1579.

for the ministry, and another for common use and daily life : and the Egyptian priests (who, as you well know, were Christians in the time of Jerome) wore linen garments not only in divine service, but in common use. (Commentary on Ezek. Lib. XIII. c. 44.)¹ And truly the disciples of Christ, as much as lieth in them, must follow peace with all men, and not be a stumbling-block to unbelievers or to the churches of God. We must pray the Lord to make us all of one mind to dwell in the house of God, which is the church, and to remove all unnecessary contentions and causes of offence." Hilles, therefore, belonged to that body of Anglican churchmen of whose faith Richard Hooker was the subsequent exponent.²

He had returned to England before, as we find him present at a Court of the 18th March, when he had much to hear from his colleagues of their contest with the Clothworkers, and of the general affairs of the Company.³ He was also present on the 1st July when Sir Thomas White made his last appearance amongst his colleagues, nor is it unreasonable to suppose but that soon after their completion Hilles became cognizant of the arrangements which Sir Thomas White had made with the President and Fellows of St. John's for the endowment of forty-three scholarships from the Company's school.

The gift in itself was but a very slender provision for the large number of scholars who were to be maintained by the college. The rental of the London property was under 120*l.* per annum, and so long as his widow, Dame Joan, survived him the estates to be purchased for her jointure would realize no income to the college. Besides the leases granted to his collateral relations at nominal rents would diminish the resources which under his original endowment the college would otherwise have enjoyed, so that a good deal of hardship devolved, as we shall see, upon the original scholars appointed on the foundation.

Upon how small an annual sum a scholar could be maintained at the University would somewhat depend at that as at every other period upon the social position of the recipient ; but that White intended his scholars should be the sons of poor men is clear, and that they were so is shown by the description which is given of them by the President and Fellows in 1584. What, then, ought

¹ Vestibus lineis utuntur *Ægyptii* sacerdotes, non solum intrinsecus, sed et extrinsecus. Porro religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu viteque communi. Tom. IV. page 476.

² Eccl. Pol., book 5, ch. 7, sec. 8.

³ Part I, page 201.

to be the admitted annual income per head which the college should have in its treasury to justify the Guild and college authorities in nominating scholars under the founders' will? Unfortunately no mutual understanding was come to on this point, and on looking back at the proceedings of the Court when Hilles and others took up this question against the college and insisted on appointing scholars, we are led to the conclusion that from misunderstanding with the college, and by taking no estimate or too low an one in appointing scholars before the resources of the college were capable of maintaining them, some misery was needlessly inflicted on the nominees.

Sir Thomas White named 4*l.* 10*s.* as the stipend for his scholars, and many scholarships¹ were created in the Elizabethan period at 6*l.*, 4*l.*, and 3*l.* per annum, and some under these sums, but nothing much less than 9*l.*² would maintain a scholar at the University in 1580, although the city, or at least the Company, in 1564 had adopted 5*l.*³ for their scholarships. We may therefore suppose that the Court took this latter sum as the basis of their calculation in insisting against St. John's that scholars should be elected on White's foundation.

It was the good fortune of both school and college that Sir W. Cordell had succeeded in his contention against the Bishop of Winchester in 1571 in being declared the Visitor⁴ of St. John's during his life, and therefore as no scholar had yet been elected by

¹ App. 8 and 9, pages 356-7. Petition of Cam. Univ. in 1736 to the House of Commons.—9 Parl. Hist., page 1,113. Vernon gave only 4*l.*

² Frederick, Duke of Wurtemberg visited Oxford, in August, 1592, and in his "Circumstantial Account" of the University, he mentions several recent (annual) foundations. At Oriel, Chapman's of 10*l.* for two students; at Queen's, Grindall's of 20*l.* in addition to 100*l.* capital, for one fellow and two scholars.—*Rye*, page 24. In 1374 an account of a guardian claiming 2*s.* per week for keep at Oxford, viz., 5*l.* 4*s.* per annum.—See *Rivley's London*, page 379. In 1593 Mr. James Leigh (in the Shuttleworth accounts) had 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—*Cheetham Society*, vol. 43, page 600. In 1597 the President and Fellows of St. John's wrote to the Merchant Taylors Company that 7*l.* per annum will hardly supply the maintenance of a scholar, and the Company credited their report so far as to vote 2*l.* per annum as an additional sum for the school.—1 *Wilson*, page 127 note. In 1605 an account at Cambridge shows for the first year 9*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* plus 1*l.* 18*s.* 0*d.* for the admission.—11*th Report, Hist. MS.*, page 13. The Earl of Northumberland entered at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1617. His six months' commons were 2*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* and extra diet (including 9*l.* 10*s.* for wine and sugar) 5*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* He had six servants, whose board wages were 7*s.* a week each; his personal allowance 50*l.* and the charges for his clothing 200*l.*—say a total expenditure of 500*l.* a-year.—Vol. 2, page 368, "Annals of the House of Percy (1887)."

³ Court Minutes of 21st July, 1564.

⁴ Cal. State Papers on date.

the college, a deputation of Fleetwood, Hilles, and others was appointed by the Court of March, 1572, to wait on the Visitor.

It appeared to the deputation that the resources of the college were too slender to bear the expenses of sending up the President and Senior Fellows to the school for the election, and to meet this difficulty the Merchant Taylors Company¹ made an arrangement (which is still in force) to bear the cost of their journey, so that this hindrance to a free election might be removed. Accordingly on the 10th June, 1572, Richard Hilles had the satisfaction of meeting the President and Fellows with the Bishop of Winchester and many others including, Sir W. Cordell, in the school chapel and joining in the first election of two scholars from the school in St. Lawrence Poultny to St. John's, Oxford, on Sir Thomas White's foundation.

Towards the support of these two scholars Sir W. Cordell made a contribution, probably at the time unknown to Hilles, and therefore when he and others pressed for the election of scholars for the next year (1573) a cry of something like distress came from Oxford as a response. "For lack of ready money" (wrote the President and Fellows in June) "it is miserable to see how the poore schollers of our howse this deare season are pynched. We are also, partly from coldness, partle from want of roome, constrained to overlofte all the chambers in the whole Colledge," and therefore they prayed the Company to make no election.

But this answer was far from being satisfactory either to Sir W. Cordell or to the Company, the latter of whom looked upon the action of the college in the light of a breach of trust. "Ye are" (wrote the Master and Wardens) "wise enough to consider and godly enough to grant that the not executynge of the godly devices of such as have heretofore given their goods, therefore is the great discouragement,² yea, either hindrance of many (in these dayes of racked consciences) why they do not follow their predecessors lyke godly and charitable Presidents which pernycious evill we hope and wishe that bothe by worde and deade you will show yourselves to condemne."

Dame White's death had given the College an additional income³ and the subject could not be suffered to rest upon this indefinite basis; accordingly Sir W. Cordell undertook to visit the college, and to make some award for the future guidance of both parties.

¹ Order 7th May, 1572.

² Part I, page 152.

³ 1 Wilson, page 43. From the 3,000*l.* invested in land which was subject to her life estate only.

At that crisis Richard Hilles and others (including Walter Fish) were appointed a Sub-Committee to assist the Master and Wardens in prosecuting their suit before the Visitor. The result eventuated in an award¹ made in March, 1574, by Cordell and Dr. Lewes (Judge of the Admiralty Court), setting forth that the college was not then able to bear the charges of fifty students, "as it had pleased God to take away their founder by death before he did endow the college with sufficient lands and livelihood for the maintenance" of that number, and therefore all that the college should admit should be the number which "from time to time they shall be able to maintayne;" an award which, though it allayed the heat of controversy did not prevent the renewal of it.

The President and Fellows at the solicitation of the Court attended the school examination in June, 1574. Four candidates were selected and two chosen as scholars, with an intention expressed on the part of the President and Fellows to take in the other two if on their return to Oxford they found they could do so. No immediate answer being received from the college the *four* scholars were sent up with a letter to the President, and a sum of 20s. given to them for an equal division towards their charges for going there.

The misunderstanding continued, the college hoped that some other member of the Company might supplement Sir Thomas White's endowment² and become a co-founder; while the Court were afraid of being drawn in to support out of their own resources, either wholly or in part, the scholars whom they sent up to St. John's.³ For the loan of 100*l.* made to them in 1577, the President and Fellows wrote "by the helpe of your money our college is discharged of many old debts, delyvered of many shamefull reproaches, dyverse poor men satisfyed, your children, our scholars, and our diet farr bettered by the helpe of redy money to by our victuells." The want of increased allowance to the scholars was a real one, and how could it be met?

It will have been noticed that Walter Fish had been associated with Hilles in a Sub-Committee upon the scholarships. He was the "Master" leaving office when the letter last quoted was received by the Company and he had influence of some sort with the Queen. After he had quitted office it was discovered that an obit available for University education under the Chauntries Act of Edward VI was still outstanding, *i.e.*, it had not been returned by

¹ Cot. Order, book 16, March, 1574.

² Letter of August, 1590; 1 Wilson, page 100.

³ 1 Wilson, page 61.

the Royal Commissioners in 1547, and therefore not confiscated by the Crown to secular uses. A large arrear was due from the Company, and if this could be obtained and made applicable by him to the scholars on White's foundation, a substantial benefit would be conferred. Fish therefore used his influence with Queen Elizabeth to secure this worthy object and succeeded in obtaining the grant of these arrears on the condition of applying them (the Crown being bound so to do) to pious uses. He applied them in a way already explained,¹ in favour "of five poor scholars of St. John's, Oxford, which should be most like to bend their studies to divinity;" a substantial benefit of 2*l.* a year to each student elected under his foundation.

How much additional income was needed by the President and Fellows for scholarships may be seen from their letter to the Company, dated January, 1584. In writing for an additional grant to be made to the scholars they use these words:—"It will set an edge on the minds of your scholars when they shall have wherewith to provide them books and other necessities for the backe and the bellie, the want whereof is now so greate in the most part of your scholars chosen from your school having either noe friends or such poore friends as cannot helpe them; that some of them doe loose their tyme for lacke of bookes, others preest for lack of apparrell, others hassard their place quarterlie in the college for that they have not to pay for their meate and drinke, they spend in the howse over and above the founder's allowance, and other some are of extreme mysery and penurye constrained to leave the University and to caste of studie and betake themselves to some other trade of lief or to a worse course not so commendable to themselves nor so profitable to the common weale."²

But we must leave these subjects for a time to complete Hilles' correspondence with Bullinger. As usual it was first renewed by the latter in a letter of March, 1569 (accompanied by books for the Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and Worcester), and then by a letter of the 24th August, 1570, to which Hilles replied in February offering to supply the place of Bullinger's friend Abel who had died.

"As you seem to desire that, both as to the forwarding letters from yourself to others, and also conveying them from others to you, I will supply the place of our friend Abel (who has died in the Lord, and therefore is now, I doubt not, blessed and delivered

¹ Part I. page 238, *ante*.

² 1 Wilson, page 71. and Appendix 11, page 362, *post*. In 1591 the College expenditure was 167*l.* in excess of receipts.

³ Page 140, *ante*.

from those pains which he endured when alive in this world). I will most readily do this as far as I can. As to the writings which you state to have been inclosed with the aforesaid letter, as soon as they came into my hands, I sent them to the reverend the bishops and other learned persons to whom you had directed them."

As part of the news of England he relates the incident of the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in the north, and adds:—

"While the aforesaid persons were in arms prosecuting their impious attempt, they not only threw down the communion tables,¹ tore in pieces the holy Bible and godly books, and trod under foot the printed homilies, but also again set up the blasphemous mass as a sacrifice for the living and the dead. And as a farther cloke to their pretended piety, they caused some crosses, and some banners of certain saints, whom they either believed to be their patrons and defenders, or pretended they would be, to be carried into procession among their arms."

And concludes thus:—

"Farewell in Christ Jesus, my very reverend sir, and may he evermore preserve you! Amen. London, Feb. 6, 1569, according to the computation of the Church of England.

"Yours, R. H."

His services were to be brought into use, and his next letter, dated 27th July, 1571, is as follows:—"Much health in the Lord. I wrote a letter to you very reverend Sir, on the 8th March, which my son Barnabas, as he afterwards informed me, transmitted to you by Christopher Froschover at the last Frankfort fair. You have received it I hope long before this time, and would learn from it that your copious letter of August has long since reached me."

"I have only, however, received this day your most gratifying letter from Zurich, of the 25th of February in this present year, together with your three letters addressed to the reverend the bishops of York, Ely, and Salisbury; and also the three copies in manuscript, of which you write in the letter above-mentioned; all

¹ Page 275, *post*. The rebels went first to Durham, an episcopal see hard by, where they trampled under feet the English Bibles and books of Common Prayer, which they found in the churches. From thence they went short journeys, celebrating mass in all places where they came, troupng together under their colours (wherein were painted, in some the five wounds of Christ, in others the chalice); Richard Norton, an old gentlemen, with a reverend gray head, bearing a cross with a streamer before them, as far as Clifford Moor, not far from Wetherby.—Camden's *Elizubeth*, page 134.

of which I will take care shall be faithfully delivered to the bishops to whom you have directed them. I certainly much wonder where they have been so long delayed in their journey: but I am very glad to have received them even now; and I have to thank you also for your present of a book printed in German, entitled, *A promised Answer to the Testament of John Brentius, &c.* Of this I have received two copies, besides five books printed in Latin, and three letters, viz. one to the bishop of London, another to the bishop of Durham, and the third to Henry Butler, together with the three manuscript copies above-mentioned: which letters, as well as all the aforesaid seven printed books, I will take care shall be delivered as soon as possible, to the persons to whom in your letter you desired to be sent. [A paragraph respecting some cloth that Bullinger had bespoken, is here omitted.] This cloth I make you a present of; and I pray God that you may long enjoy it, though it is not very likely that you will: for Jerome says most truly, quoting some philosopher or poet, The young *may* die soon but the old *cannot* live long."

" I am much grieved at your so humbly entreating me to take in good part your writing to me, and that you ask my pardon for so freely employing my services; for you may always employ them most freely as long as I live."

"I have taken care, previous to my finishing this letter, that all the manuscript copies aforesaid, and all the other printed books, have been delivered to the right reverend bishops to whom they were addressed; and I hope that they will shortly acknowledge the receipt of them to your worship. Farewell, my very reverend master in Christ our Saviour. London, July, 27th, 1571.

"Yours heartily, as you know,

"RICHARD HILLES, *Anglus.*"

In March succeeding he writes to Bullinger thus:—

"Much health in the Lord. As my son Barnabas Hilles, my much honoured friend and master, has informed our beloved brother in Christ, Julius Sancterentianus, by letter dated on the 26th of last November; I have received your letter, written on the 27th of August last, here in London from the learned and pious youth, Henry Butler, whom, a fortnight after I had received the letter aforesaid, I sent on horseback with trusty attendants to a certain Dunstan Felton, son of master John Butler, deceased, to an English village named Chilton,¹ in the county of Suffolk; from

¹ There are two places of this name in Suffolk, the one a hamlet in the parish of Clare, the other a small village near Sudbury.

which place I have received a letter from the aforesaid Henry Butler, written from the house of his aunt, a widow, and a very godly matron. I will also most diligently and heartily undertaking the management of all that business which in your aforesaid letter you desired me to execute. But I forwarded to the aforesaid Henry Butler on the 26th of November, by a trusty messenger, some letters which master Christopher Froschover delivered to my aforesaid son Barnabus at Frankfort. My son Barnabas Hilles has also received from the aforesaid master Froschover, together with the aforesaid letters, four books in the German language, which he took care should be faithfully delivered to the parties to whom they were addressed; and I and my wife are exceedingly obliged to you for having sent us two of those books as a present.

"I am very sorry that, when you wrote me the aforesaid letter, you had not yet fully recovered from your illness. I hope however that before this time you are much better: God grant it may be so! I have not lately received any letters to be forwarded to you from any of our bishops or others residing here in England. Should I however receive any letters for that purpose at any future time, I will take care that they shall be sent over to you with all diligence."

He then refers to mutual friends:—

"Master Edwin Sandys, who was lately bishop of Worcester, is now our bishop of London; but he is not much known to me, except by sight¹: and indeed almost all the other bishops, with the exception of that most learned and amiable, yea, rather divine bishop, master Jewel of Salisbury, are for the most part unknown to me. For I am afraid (although I have never experienced it myself) that some of them (as the most learned Jerome wrote concerning some bishops of his time), placed as it were upon some high beacon, scarce deign to look upon mankind, or hold any intercourse with their fellow servants," and adds: "Here, among us, by the favour of God all things are settled both in church and state. May the Lord long grant us this blessing."

And concludes thus:

"May the Lord Jesus evermore preserve you and yours! London, March 8, in the year of our salvation 1570, according to the computation of the church of England.

"Yours from my heart,

"RICHARD HILLES."

¹ Possibly he became better acquainted at a later period, see Part I, page 319 note.

That Hilles was at this time a channel for the benevolence of those in England to others living in hard circumstances in Germany, is evidenced by letters from Grindal, Bishop of London, to Rodolph Gualter, dated July, 1572: "I wrote to Richard Hilles, a Merchant of London, that he should take care and transmit to you at the next Frankfort fair, 50 French crowns, viz., 30 from myself and the remaining 20 from the Bishop of Durham, whose letters you will receive at the same time with this. We pray you to take in good part this little present."

In July, 1572, he acknowledges letters and books, to be sent to the English Bishops, and some of the latter to be accepted by himself. A parcel of these books had, however, miscarried and not reached him. "How it has happened, I know not, but I have not received the books you mention, written concerning 'Exhortation.'" He then goes into matters of business in regard to payments which he had to make for the bishops, and other moneys which he had (somewhat reluctantly) to advance for the maintenance of young men sent for education to England:

"As for the thirty-two pieces of gold about which you write, my son Gerson paid sixteen of them at the last winter fair at Frankfort to Christopher Froschover, for those ten crowns of the right reverend the bishop of Winchester which you mention. The other sixteen were for those other ten crowns which the bishop of Ely paid here to the aforesaid Gerson, to repay to you. My son added, moreover, that he paid over to the said Froschover at the same time ten pieces of gold for Julius Sancterentianus, which the right reverend the bishop of Ely had before placed here to be paid to the said Julius. As to your writing me word to this effect, that it was without doubt through a mistake at the spring fair, that the twenty-seven dollars,' &c. I know not how to set you at ease, because you do not mention whether my son Barnabas, who was present at that Frankfort fair, paid over those twenty-seven dollars to Froschover."

"I lent two pounds ten shillings of English money, worth in German money thirteen florins and five batzen; which I will beg of you to receive and retain for yourself out of them twelve florins and twelve batzen for the eight French crowns which the reverend the bishop of Norwich sent me, with the paper which I have inclosed in this letter. The remaining eight batzen I would have you present to some poor student. It is but just (as I told you before) that those who send their sons to England, should rather deposit their money at Frankfort beforehand, than require others

to advance it for them here in England, and then to have to demand payment at Frankfort."

He then adverts to different but sad events—the one Bullinger's want, and the other the bad health of his own wife: "I am glad to hear from you that you are by the blessing of God in tolerable health and peace, but grieve much to hear that you are distressed by the dearth of provisions and other things. I hope, however, that after the supplication appointed by public authority, God will in mercy look upon you, and again remove that fatherly correction with which He is wont for the most part to punish those whom He loves.

"I am also very sorry that you had been so ill with a severe cough for three weeks before you wrote. But you well know that God often visits those whom he loves. I pray that he may grant you patience, and, as you express yourself, deal with you in mercy according to his good pleasure. My wife salutes you very much, and entreats you to commend her to God in your prayers, as she is greatly afflicted with a contraction of the muscles and nerves, which we call spasms, and also with the gravel."

We now come to the last letter recorded from Hilles to Bullinger, who died in September, 1574. It appears from the context to have been intended for Master Gualter also. After the usual salutation it commences with matters of business in regard to letters and books sent to the English Bishops, and then proceeds:—

"Moreover on the sixteenth day of December aforesaid your Rodolph and Rodolph Gualter borrowed from me to the amount of eleven florins and eleven batzen, German money, reckoning a florin at fifteen batzen, for their current expenses here in London, to be repaid by your friend master Christopher Froschover at the next Frankfort fair. My son too, Gerson Hilles, who travelled with them from Frankfort as far as Embden, lent them thirty florins and ——¹ batzen of German money, which sum they promised should be repaid at the aforesaid Lent fair to my son Barnabas Hilles, or my servant Robert Mascall, by the same master Froschover; of which payment (as also of that of the before-mentioned eleven florins and eleven batzen) I entertain no doubt. But yet, as you might understand from the last letter you received from me in October (as I learn from the letter of master Rodolph Gualter,

¹ The word is omitted in the MS.

written to me from Zurich on the sixteenth of the same month), I wrote to your piety, that it would be more for your interest (I mean yours and master Gualter's) if you would cause to be paid beforehand at Frankfort for money which you wish to be credited to the two young men here in England, that I may afterwards pay them the amount in this country."

"I have received that most delightful treatise you sent me on the authority of scripture and of the church, and I thank your kindness for it. Salute, I pray you, in my name master Rodolph Gualter the elder, and tell him that I am obliged to him for having written to me about the appearance in the sun, which was seen by you [at Zurich] on the 29th of September: it may be, as he himself supposes, that no ordinary example of divine vengeance will at length pursue a guilty and unrepenting world. I am sorry to hear that master Rodolph Gualter was attacked last summer by an acute and burning fever, which brought him so low, that he began to doubt of his recovery. But I rejoice that God has so had compassion on him, as to restore him to health and to the church at the same time; so that he can truly say with the holy prophet David after his sickness, *I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord*. Nor do I at all doubt but that whatever money I have now advanced to his aforesaid son Rodolph, to the aforesaid amount, namely, of eleven florins and as many batzen, he will faithfully cause to be repaid to me at the next Frankfort fair.¹ And I entreat you, master Bullinger, by the Lord, not to be offended at my thus writing to yourself and master Gualter a joint letter, and not separately to each of you. For it is now-a-days (and I am certainly much ashamed of it) very troublesome to me to write letters in Latin, as I write them so very slowly; so that I can scarcely now write as many letters in two hours as I could finish, when I was a young man, in half an hour. But blessed be the Lord my God in all things and at all times; at all times and evermore, whether in prosperity or adversity! Amen."

"Since I last wrote to you in the month of August, I have not

¹ Gualter's son acknowledged a subsequent loan from R. Hilles in the following terms: "Chirographa acceptæ pecuniæ. Ego Rodolphus Gualterus Tigurinus hoc meo chirographo testor me a D. Ricardo Hilles mercatore Londinensi mutuo accepisse summam tredecim florenorum et quinque batzionum Germanicorum, quam quidem summam polliceor me prædicti Ricardi Hilles filio Barnabæ Hilles aut famulo Simoni redditurum, aut reddi curaturum, in nundinis autumnalibus Francofordianis proxime futuris, per. D. Christophorum Froshoverum typographum Tigurinum; in cujus rei gratiam hæc propria manu scripsi et subscripsi. Londini 28 Apr. 1573."

received any letters either for yourself or master Rodolph Gualter from the reverend the bishops, nor, as I remember, from any other learned men. But if they now wish to write to you by my above-named servant Robert, who is about to sail, God willing, in this present month of February, from hence to Hamburgh, I hope that my son Barnabas will be able safely to convey such letters from Hamburgh for you to the aforesaid master Froschover at Frankfort."

He concludes with this final benediction: "Farewell, and may Almighty God very long preserve you to the advancement of his glory and the edifying of his church! London, 18th February, 1572.

"Yours, you know who,

'HILLES, Merchant."

Thus closed this affectionate correspondence with Bullinger¹ extending over a period of thirty years.

To advert to an incident in Hilles' own affairs; we find in the year 1574 the only evidence that has yet come under our notice of his place of residence, which arises from his application to the Company for the renewal of a lease of a house in the Quadrant adjoining to the Three Cranes, which, on the 16th February, 1542-3, had been leased by Stephen Kyrton (the Master) for 60 years at 3*l.* per annum. The residue of this lease (the house being tenanted by Mr. Stapleton, the Town Clerk), Hilles had purchased from Sir W. Fairfax for 200*l.*, "less 40*s.* which Fairfax had allowed back to mend the pavement in the outer court next the street," and he came to the Court for an extension of his term. Under a standing order² a preference was usually given to brethren of the Company requiring leases for *residence*, but as an abuse had grown up for members to acquire houses of the Company for the purpose of re-letting them at a profit to others, this was intended to be stopped by an order of 12th June, 1574, which required tenants before the expiration of their lease to compound with the Company for their longer abode by renewal or to quit, so that failing these arrangements being made the premises might be let to some other brother requiring them and willing to pay as much as any other.

Accordingly later in the year Hilles presented himself before the Court as a suitor for the renewal of the lease, and the request was granted on the 23rd February in these terms:—

"Forasmuch as it was considered That the sayde Mr Richard

¹ His "*Decades*" were printed and published at London in 1587, and is still a purchasable book.

² 22nd March, 1560.

Hilles hath not only generally pformed and accomplished the duty of a worthy Brother of this ffraternitie in coen affayres appteyning to this Mistery. But also hathe ben a Special furtherer of that praise worthy and ffamous worke the Erectinge of the grand schole at S^t Laurence Pountneys, happily finished and well mainteyned by this worshipfull Companie. Therefore the saide M^r Wardens and Assistants have granted unto the said Richard Hilles and Daniel Hilles his son a lease under the coen seale of this Mystery for ffyfty yeares, to begyne at the feaste of th'annunciation of our Ladye next ensuinge, yelding yearly therefore the only accustomed rent, and bearing all repacons and pforminge all other reasonable covenants in the saide former lease accordingly."

The property here dealt with came to the Company from a gift of Thomas Speight in 1527, and was taken down in making Southwark Bridge in 1817. The means of identifying it being that in the Renter Warden's account, 1573-4, under the head of "The Quadrant eadjoyninge to the iij Cranes in Le Vyntrye," is found: "Item of Mr. Stapilton for a messuage per annum iijl.;" and in the year 1574-5 under the same heading: "Item of Mr. Richarde Hilles for a messuage per annum iijl.," a rent which Richard Hilles paid up to 1586-7, after which date the same rent was paid by his son Daniel to the Company.

It is in this period of Hilles' life that we should note the death of his friend, Miles Coverdale, who, in 1567, had purchased from Edward Babington the residue of a term originally granted by the Merchant Taylors Company to Richard Minsterley, of a house in St. Benet's Fink,² and there died in 1568, being buried according to Stow in St. Bartholomew-the-Less. His widow, Katherine, married Edward Dawson, and they agreed in December, 1582, to take and pay a fine for a renewed lease, but failing in their part complained against the Company through the Lord Chancellor (Bromley) and Sir W. Mildmay, to whom letters of explanation were sent and are set out under date of the 29th December, 1582.²

¹ Memorials, page 126.

² See also 12th March, 1582, warning Dawson out of the house.

TABLE OF COURT ATTENDANCES.

[This Table as originally prepared had reference only to Hilles, and the notes (unless it otherwise appears) relate only to him.]

Sir Thomas Offley was present on days printed in italics and at those marked *. Richard Hilles on all days except those marked *. Stephen Hayles on days marked †. William Fleetwood, the Recorder, on all days marked ‡. Fish on days with F. Dowe on days with D.

- 1562 July 1,¹ August 29, September 23, October 2, SS. Symon and Jude,² September 22,³ October 2,⁴ December 14†, 15†, January 25†,⁵ March 22.
 1563 May 17*, June 23, July 5,⁶ 10, September 22, December 14, February 28, March 22.
 1564 April 19, June 26††, July 26†, August 28, December 11†, January 10† and 12*, 15, February 12, March 20*†.
 1565 May 7,⁷ 21†, 28,⁸ July 2†, August 28, December 10* and 11, January 14,⁹ February 16,¹⁰ March 18.
 1566 May 4,¹¹ 5, July 1, September 27*, November 7*, March 18.¹²
 1567 May 28, June 5, July 7, August 28, September 23, November 10, December 8, March 23, 29*.
 1568 May 29, July 12, August 2,¹³ 4,¹⁴ 28, September 23, October 1, ⁵ March 22†.
 1569 May 23, June 18†, July 11†F, August 1F, 19F, 29F, September 26F, December 12F, January 2F, 13F,¹⁶ March 13F.
 1570 May 5F, July 5F, 10F, 17, August 28, September 25,¹⁷ October 16†F,¹⁸ December 11F, February 20, March 19F.
 1571 May 7, 15†F,¹⁹ 20, 16*,²⁰ 21*F, June 12, July 2FD, 30FD, August 28FD, September 25FD, October 20FD, December 3†FD, 6†FD,²¹ March 19.²²
 1572 March 25, May 7F, 14,²³ June 16, 23, 30F, July 7, 11, August 11F, 28, September 25D, October 2†D,²⁴ 18†D, 20†,²⁵ 22D, November 4, 8, 13, December 15D, January 21†, February 7D, 16D, March 9†.

¹ Election day.

³ Assessed for harness, 26s. 8d.

⁵ Assessed for wheat, 4l. 6s. 8d.

⁷ Assessed for wheat, 43s. 4d.

⁹ New bourse, 5l.

¹¹ Surety for L. Halliday, 25l.

¹² There were Courts on the 7th, 9th, 15th, and 23rd November, 1566, in relation to the Clothworkers' suit, at which Hayles was present as Warden.

¹³ Not present, appointed to survey Sheriff Ollyffe's house.

¹⁴ Not in lottery.

¹⁵ To welcome guests at Lord Mayor's feast.

¹⁶ Assessed against rebels in the north, 20s.

¹⁷ Commissioner to survey Rowe's lands.

¹⁸ Dame Joan White to pay 3,000l. to St. John's College, Oxford, by instalments.

¹⁹ Mr. William Fleetwood, Recorder, before the past Master, "Bill of poor handicraftsmen read."

²⁰ On committee to reply to fourteen lesser Companies.

²¹ W. Fuljambe, elected Clerk.

²² Re Sir Thomas White's statutes.

²³ "At a Court on 14th May, 1572, it was ordered:—"Mr. Wm. Fleetwood shall be paid an annual fee of 4l. like other learned Counsellors of this mystery."

²⁴ Survey of Rushock.

²⁵ "Mr. W. Fleetwood and another to examine whether the quit rent demanded on account of the Bridge house is correct."

- 1573 April 25^{*D},²⁶ 27D, May 23, July 13D, August 6, 23, September 11FD, 18,²⁷ 24D, October 31†F, November 11F, 25F,²⁸ December 15†F, February 3D, March 16D, 24†.
- 1574 May 8FD, 18†D, June 12F, 23F, July 3FD, 6FD, August 28D, September 27, October 20F, 25, November 27FD, December 14D, January 21F, February 23, March 21†F.
- 1575 May 6FD, 17, June 9, 15F, 20^{*FD}, July 11FD, August 29D, September 10†D, 23FD, October 20†D, 24D, 29D, November 14FD, 28FD, December 5^{*†D},²⁹ 12, March 19FD, 23FD.
- 1576 April 2FD, May 25FD, June 8†FD, 24†D, 27FD, July 20FD, 27FD, August 28FD,³⁰ September 25F, October 9FD, 19FD, November 14FD, December 7†F, 10FD, January 10FD, March 12FD.
- 1577 April 1FD, 17†FD, May 3FD, June 8FD, 11FD, 14FD, 22FD, July 2FD, 5FD, 11FD, 24D, August 8F, 15FD, 28D, September 23FD, October 6FD, 14F, November 13FD, March 17F.
- 1578 April 28†F,³¹ June 4F, 21FD, July 2FD, 7D, August 28D, September 22D, October 30FD, November 15FD, January 22D, March 18FD, 24D.
- 1579 March 31†FD, April 29FD,³² 30†FD,³³ May 5†FD, 20D, June 10FD, 13D, 23FD,³⁴ July 6FD, August 28FD, September 22†FD,³⁵ November 9FD, 14FD, 18FD, 24FD, December 14F, 19FD, February 6, 16D, March 15†F.
- 1580 March 26F, May 9F, 28FD, June 15FD, July 7†FD, 11†D, August 3F, 6F, 29D,³⁶ September 26†,³⁷ October 25FD, December 13F, March 7F, 13FD, 14FD.
- 1581 June 14FD, 20FD, 28F, July 10FD, August 28F, October 27F, November 11F, 13D, 29FD, December 6F, 12D, 16FD, 18D, January 31, February 7FD, 14F, March 10F, 13FD, 20F.
- 1582 May 2FD, 9, 23FD, 24FD, 28F, June 2†FD,³⁸ 26F, July 7, 18FD, 30, August 28D, October 25F, December 11F, 29F, January 29FD, March 12F, 18F.
- 1583 April 16D, 24FD, May 19FD, 30FD, June 3FD, 6F, 10FD, 18, July 2F, 7FD, August 28FD, September 24FD, October 3FD, 18FD, 23FD, 30FD, November 11F, 13F, December 15, 18FD, January 8, 21FD, February 8FD, 12F, 22F, 26†D.³⁹
- 1584 March 30F, May 13D, June 18F, 23FD, 27FD, July 6D, 14FD, August 28F, September 9, 22†F,⁴⁰ October 6F, 27F, December 2, 19D, January 25F, February 24, March 17F, 23.

²⁶ There was a Court on the 16th, at which Hayles was present.

²⁷ Master and Wardens assessed for corn, 43s. 4d.

²⁸ Hayles was present at a Court of the 11th November.

²⁹ "R. Mulcaster applied concerning Richard Hilles' allowance of 10*l*. to the Chief Usher, which is now decayed five years and more, but still had been paid by him, R. Mulcaster." (Boys scattered on account of plague), at which Fleetwood was present.

³⁰ To attend Sheriff Kympton.

³¹ The 1,000*l*. held for the College of St. John's to be given up at less than the agreed notice, viz., six months.

³² Mayor's precept *re* Duke Cassimer. The Company will provide for Mulcaster's widow in the event of his death convenient meat and residence.

³³ "A tonne of good Gascoyne wine to Sir T. Bromeley, now Lord Chancellor, formerly a councillor of this mystery."

³⁴ Election dinner, in order to avoid expense, to be at the school, at the discretion of the Master and Wardens.

³⁵ Twelve appointed for the better auditing and arranging the accounts.

³⁶ M. W. Fleetwood *not* present. Master and Wardens to take counsel with him *re* bonds, Sir T. White's loan money.

³⁷ First granting of Sir T. White's 100*l*.

³⁸ The Recorder and two others to hear and arrange a controversy between Thomas and Gyles Sympton.

³⁹ *Re* concealed lands.

⁴⁰ Committee appointed *re* roof of hall. 160*l*. delivered to St. John's, Oxford.

1585	April 17 ^d , May 12 ^f , June 25, July 12 ^f ^{FD} , 28 ^d , August 18 ^d , September 27 ^d , October 19, November 15, 16, 24, December 13, 20 ^d , January 3, 25, February 23, March 19.
1586	May 10, 18, June 28 ^d , 29, July 5, 12, 18 ^d , August 10, 20, October 8 ^d , 12 ^d , December 7 ^f ^d , 19, January 14 ^d , February 1, 11, March 1, 11.
1587	March 27 ^f , April 2, 8, May 9, ⁴¹ 17, 20, 22 ^d , June 14 ^d , 21, 26 ^f ^d , August 28, September 22 ^d , November 6 ^d , 13, 27, December 4, 6, 13 ^d , February 3. ⁴²
1588	July 11. ^f
1590	March 23. ^f ⁴³
1594	February 22. ⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Not present.* The lease of certain tenements to be offered to the Recorder, first held by Daniel Hilles, who complained of his bad treatment by his mother-in-law, widow of Mr. Phillips, late a Master of the Company.

⁴² R. Hilles' will read.

⁴³ This is his last attendance. "iii. 262. Gerson Hills, the lunitiche, hath been kept ever since his luny in a tenement without Bishopsgate, and the Company took the house for 21 years at 4*l.* a year."

⁴⁴ A remembrance of 13*s.* 4*d.* continued to Mr. Luck, Mr. Fleetwood's man.

[*For the continuation of this table see page 330.*]

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CLOSING YEARS OF HILLES' LIFE.

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So long as the life of Hilles lasted he did not cease to devote himself to the interests of the school, and fortunate it was both for the school and college that he was spared long enough to see something like harmony established between them.

Adverting to school affairs, it must be remarked that during the earlier years of Mulcaster's engagement no difficulties arose with the Court, but that this was not the case after 1568, when John Moore, the first Chief Usher appointed by Mulcaster resigned, and Richard Hilles about the same time ceased to pay 10l. for the increase of salary.

John Higginson, B.A., was appointed by Mulcaster as Moore's successor, but why Hilles ceased to make his payment to him has not been satisfactorily explained. Had Hilles deemed the continuance of this payment to be just, or that the interest of the school required it to be made, he would, we may reasonably suppose, have called upon his colleagues on the Court to meet it, and to relieve all parties from future importunity; that course was not taken, and without determining where the fault rested, we can only regret that after Hilles' contributions had ceased, Mulcaster's relationship with the Court was not that of cordiality.

The first difference that arose between them was in the year 1569, when Mulcaster opened rooms in his own house for the reception of pupils, over and above those to be taught in the Company's school, an evil which Richard Hilles and others present at the Court of the 15th January redressed in a rather summary method, and in decisive language, "that the said Mr. Mulcaster shall, before Lady Day clearly dismiss all such scholars, on pain of his dismissal."

In the year 1570 the Chief Ushership again became vacant, and Mulcaster appointed Thomas Maddox, M.A., who, in 1572, was promoted by the Company to the Mastership of Sir S. Jenyns's school at Wolverhampton. To supply this second vacancy Henry Wilkinson, who ultimately became Mulcaster's successor, was appointed by him on the 3rd April, 1575.

During the period of these changes, Mulcaster, either from necessity or inclination, engaged himself in preparing plays, to be acted by his boys in the common hall of the Company, to which it would seem that the public were admitted by payment of money. These performances, however, were stopped by Hilles and others on the 16th March, 1573, by an order, which, after referring "to the tumultuous disordered persons repairing thither to see such plays, as by our scholars were here lately played," directed that no more plays should be suffered to be played in the common hall.¹ This interdict may have led Mulcaster to seek (as he obtained) the patronage of Queen Elizabeth for his plays and players, as in March, 1573-4, he received forty marks for two plays presented before her on Candlemas and Shrove Tuesday, and in March, 1575-6, 10*l.* "for presenting a play before her on Shrove Sunday last."

¹ Part I, page 234, *ante*.

But he was getting dissatisfied with his school employment, or with its management, for he became non-observant of the school statutes, and used injurious and quarreling speech to the Visitor in 1574. He would bear no remonstrance, but "defied the Court to act against him, so that he might have a copy of their decree."

Fortunately Hilles was present at this Court (the 27th November), and at their next meeting (the 14th December) we find a better state of feeling existing, as Mulcaster came and admitted that the words "spoken against Mr. Warden Spencer were spoken by him merely of collar" and he promised to observe the school statutes in future.

In December, 1575, if not before, Hilles' colleagues on the Court became aware that he had for some time paid the 10*l.* per annum to Mulcaster, but Hilles, whether by design or otherwise, was absent¹ on the 12th December, when Mulcaster presented his claim for arrears which is thus entered on the Court minutes:—

"Richard Mulcaster, Schoolmaster of St. Laurence Pountney, required the Master, Wardens, and Assistants to have consideration of the decay of 10*l.* wages allowed by Mr. Richard Hilles, a beneficent brother of this mystery, unto the Chief Usher now decayed five years and more, and also of his charges in continuing the said allowance though the same were decayed, whereupon (continues the entry) it was answered unto him that a time should be appointed to consider thereof."

It must be assumed that the two Chief Ushers appointed by Mulcaster after Hilles' contribution had ceased, had been paid this extra 10*l.*, but why had not the Company been consulted and asked on these occasions to increase the stipend if necessary. The facts must have been within the cognizance of the Court and the claim was uniformly ignored.²

It was probably soon known that the Court took an adverse view to this claim, as Mulcaster's resignation was expected, for at a Court on 25th May, 1576, from which Hilles was again absent, it was determined, after a communication from the College, that upon such an event happening the vacancy should be filled up "from a man or fellow of St. John's": not an unreasonable request now that the College was to be supplied with the great proportion of its future scholars and fellows on Sir Thomas White's foundation from the Merchant Taylors' School; and that

¹ He made no attendances between the 28th November and 19th March.

² Fleetwood the Recorder was present on the 12th December.

the son of the Company's Beadle (Yomans) was Mulcaster's Chief Usher.¹

But nothing was done by either party. Mulcaster did not resign, and the Company made no addition to the statutory incomes of the school ushers; but on the 28th August, 1576, the pay of the Chief Usher, Francis Yomans, was raised from 10*l.* to 15*l.* per annum from Michaelmas then ensuing.

There was a desire to deal kindly with Mulcaster, and as he had made no provision for his wife, even could he have done so out of his emoluments, her case came before the Court on the 29th April, 1579, when Hilles was present. "In consideration of Mulcaster's long and painful service taken to and with our scholars of the said school, now almost twenty years since, and for the profit that he hath done unto the scholars of the same, it was resolved that if it shall fortune the said Mr. Mulcaster to depart this present life in the service of the said school as Schoolmaster of the said school, then we will provide for his wife some meet and convenient house of ours to inhabit in during the term of her widowhood for her own dwelling, or otherwise for want of such a house we will friendly recompense her as shall be thought meet and reasonable for us and our successors for her sufficient help and relief in that behalf." The commentary of Fuller on the conduct of the Company towards Mulcaster is that "the Merchant Taylors finding his scholars so to profit intended to fix Mr. Mulcaster at his desk in their school till death should remove him. This he perceived, and gave for his motto, *Fidelis Servus, perpetuus Asinus*,"² a commentary not altogether deserved seeing that Mulcaster's remuneration from the Taylors was far higher than what he afterwards received from the Mercers, when (in 1596) he entered into their service as the Head Master of St. Paul's School.³

¹ The father was elected Beadle in 1569, and the son Usher in 1574. He was (with Lancelot Andrews, John Wilford, and Thomas Dove, all three Merchant Taylors' scholars) an original Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford, in 1571.

² Fuller's Worthies, Vol. 2, page 431.

³ Mr. John Watney (Clerk to the Mercers Company) has favoured me with this information regarding Mulcaster's fees as Chief Master (he was never Surmaster) of St. Paul's School (1596).

				Per annum.			
				£	s.	d.	£ s. d.
Founder's will, 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per week	..	..	..	34	13	4	
And livery	..	..	..	1	6	8	
				<hr/>			
				36 0 0			

At the time that Hilles was thus engaged in school affairs we get the last glance at his inner life from his final letter written to Rodolph Gualter, from London, in January, 1578, in these words:

"Much health. I understood, my very honoured and beloved friend in Christ our Lord and Saviour, by your letter dated at Zurich on the seventh of last November, that you were in good health; and I pray our gracious God very long to preserve you to his glory and the edifying of his church. It afforded me indeed great comfort to learn from your aforesaid letter, that you have borne with such firmness and resignation the loss of your very dear sons and intimate friends; because 'blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours.' For if you were to wear yourself out by constant grief, you could never expect any benefit or advantage therefrom: for it is most certain that they will never return into this world, and it is equally certain that you will go to them.

"The letter which I received inclosed in yours, for master Laurence Humphrey,¹ I sent to him at Oxford, on the last day of December, by a trustworthy messenger, who brings letters from the university every week: so that there is no doubt but that he has most certainly given your letter aforesaid to master doctor Humphrey before this time. But I pray you that in case you should have any others letters directed to me, you would send them to Strasburgh, to master Theobald Behem, a merchant there,

								£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Of the Company's gratuity	13s.	4d.	per week	..	..	..	..	34	13	4			
More at Archbishop of Canterbury's request,	1l	6s.	8d.	per									
quarter	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	6	8			
And livery	..	..	..	..	..	..	..				40	0	0
											1	6	8
											77	6	8

Mulcaster resigned in 1608 on a pension of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which was paid to him by the Mercers Company till Lady Day 1610-11.

¹ He was a native of Newport Pagnell, Bucks, Dean of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1547, and took Holy Orders in 1552. In 1555 he had leave of his college to travel for one year, and went to Zurich and associated with the English exiles there. On the death of Mary he returned to England, and was received back into his college. In 1560, being 34 years of age, he was made Queen's Professor of Divinity at Oxford, in 1562 he took his D.D. degree, in 1570 was made Dean of Gloucester, and in 1580 Dean of Winchester. Archbishop Tobias Matthew who knew him well, said that "he had read more fathers than Campion the Jesuit (of St. John's, Oxford) ever saw; devoured more than he ever tasted, and that he had taught more in Oxford than he either had learned or heard." He wrote the life of Bishop Jewell and other works, and died in February, 1589, aged 63.

who can send them to me without any difficulty; and that you will not forget to send the money for the postage at the same time; for otherwise I fear that he will not send the letters so readily by the Spires post.

"I pray you, commend me to my old friend Julius Sancterentianus (who is employed in Froschover's printing office as a corrector of the press), and tell him that I received two months since his kind letter, dated at Zurich on the 24th of August, and also a month after, the five books specified in the same letter. One of these I have kept for myself, as he desired; the others I have sent to Oxford by a trusty messenger, to master Herbert Westphaling,¹ Canon of Christ Church. Tell him too that, according to his desire, I will, God willing, repeat the service I have hitherto done him, in procuring his Oxford pension. I sent my letter, dated in August last, to the late autumnal fair at Frankfort, to master Christopher Froschover, of Zurich, respecting which I expect shortly the answer of Julius Sancterentianus. And I hope that this was the letter which you understand to have been the last written by me to your friend Julius, as you mentioned at the beginning of your letter.

"My wife, who is now-a-days a great invalid (though she is now, thank God, tolerably well), especially salutes you. I pray God of his goodness to preserve you in safety, together with your wife and all your family. Farewell. London, January 10, in the year of Christ's birth 1578, English style."

Mulcaster, in 1581, "after he had taught in public without interrupting his course two-and-twenty years and had always had a very great charge under his hand," put forth his "Positions concerning the training up of children," with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth. His object, as he described it, "was to help to bring the general teaching to some one good and profitable uniformity, which in the midst of great variety did either hinder much or profit little, or at least nothing so much as it were like to do if it were reduced to one certain form."

¹ Herbert, called Westphaling, as being a native of Westphalia in Germany. He was made one of the students of Christ Church in 1547, when 15 years of age, and became M.A. in 1555; on March, 1561, a Canon of Christ Church, and Rector of Brightwell in Oxfordshire. In 1566 he disputed before Elizabeth in St. Mary's Church, and in 1577 was installed Canon of Windsor, and in December, 1585, was consecrated Bishop of Hereford. "He was esteemed a person of great gravity, integrity and most worthy of his function." He wrote a "Treatise of Reformation in Religion," London, 1582, and died in 1601-2.

This work was followed in 1582 by the publication of "The first part of the Elementarie, which entreateth chiefly of the right writing of the English Tung," a book which is said by a competent authority to contain "many judicious criticisms and observations on the English language."

But other matters went adversely to him. It was usual for the Crown to make some allowance by way of exemption from taxation to schoolmasters, to encourage the members of their profession; but these were withdrawn from Mulcaster in 1581-2, which made an inroad upon his resources, and was strongly resisted by him.

It seemed therefore to him that the time had come again to press his suit upon the Company, and accordingly, on the 25th June, 1585, he presented himself to the Court, and a Committee consisting of Mr. W. Albany, Mr. Walter Fish, Mr. Robert Dowe, Mr. Richard Maye, Thomas Wilford, and George Sotherton was appointed to confer with him concerning his request, and to make a report to the Court. The latter was presented on the 20th December in these words, "concerning Mr. Mulcaster's suite for certain arrearages behind and unpaid to his Chief Usher as he alleged, it was answered unto him by our Master that this Court does not know of any such arrearages, but that they have paid all things according to their first foundation, whereunto they will stand, and that they are content that he shall seek his remedy as it shall seem good to him in his own discretion."

His necessities then became so urgent that he was obliged to appeal to the Master of the Company for a loan of 50*l.*, which, "with the assent of certain of our olde Maisters," was advanced to him on a joint bond of himself and Mr. Amoyke made to Mr. Thomas Wilford, to be repaid in Midsummer, 1586. But this was only a temporary relief, for on the 19th March, 1585, the Court minutes record that "as concerning the suite of Mr. Mulcaster for his arrearages and all other his demands whatsoever, he being this day before the Court of his own assent and consent doth relinquish the same, and refereth himself to the consideration of the said Court according to their discretion and pleasure." Nothing, however, was done save that on the 16th May, 1586, the consideration of his case was referred to the Midsummer Court, but he could no longer bear with the delay, for on the 28th June the Court minutes record that "Mr. Mulcaster giveth warning that he will give over the charge of Chief Master whenever the Court can

provide themselves with another Chief Master, and yet noteably he hath promised not to depart from there for one whole year if they cannot in the meantime provide themselves, and yet afterwards to show himself so dutiful unto the said Company as shall become one which hath been Chief Master to so worshipful a Company, and as concerning his former request to be recompensed that is referred to be considered of at some other time, and that as concerning the 50*l.* lent unto him and due now at Midsummer last, the same shall be forborne with him until further order be taken for the same." The resignation was accepted and measures were immediately taken to obtain a successor.

The controversy might have been renewed with St. John's College as to the selection of one of their fellows to be the Chief Master had not the subject been again raised and disposed of. In 1584 the President had interviewed the Court on the subject. and on the 20th January, after his return to Oxford, he and the senior fellows wrote renewing their application for this appointment whenever it should become vacant. "When and so often as the place shall become void the successor should be made of some sufficient and able man in St. John's, such as hath been a scholar of your school and perhaps a son of yours, or at least a friend's son or some one of that Companies' child which may be no less comfortable to you than profitable to him," but the request, which came before the February Court (at which Hilles was present) was not acceded to, as the school statutes, which were framed before the College statutes had associated the school and College so closely together, gave a preference to the Chief Usher "if qualified by nature, discretion, and honest life."¹

There were six candidates for Mulcaster's vacant appointment:—

(1.) William Burd, M.A., of Cambridge, then the Chief Usher (for only one year), who was recommended by Mulcaster and others.

(2.) Thomas Denham, a scholar from the school, and a Fellow of St. John's, recommended by the Lord Chancellor (Bromley).

(3.) Ralph Ravens, with the like qualifications, and put forward by St. John's College.

(4.) Elias Newecomen, M.A., of Cambridge, "keeping a school at his own private house not farre from the Citie."

¹ See letter to St. John's College, 26th February.

(5.) Francis Yomans, before mentioned.

Lastly, Henry Wilkinson, M.A., and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had been Under Master in 1573, and to whom the head mastership was given as from Christmas next by the Court on 8th November.

The appointment of a successor closed Mulcaster's long servitude to the Company, and the only recognition which the Court awarded to him is thus recorded in the minutes: "That the sum of 50*l.* shall be given to the said Mr. Mulcaster only in respect of his long service and painful teaching of their said Grammar School as a friendlie farewell unto him, and his obligation to be cancelled upon condition that the said Mr. Mulcaster shall give his general release to this howse for all matters from the beginning of the worlde unto this day."

Hilles was not present when these resolutions were adopted, but he attended the next Court of the 7th December, whereat the Master and Wardens were requested "to write a favourable letter for answer to the letter from the President and Fellows of St. John's in favour and commendation of Ralph Ravens, to allay the irritation which might arrive from Wilkinson's election."

It was apparent from the qualifications of some of the candidates that the emoluments of Chief Master were sufficient to command an able and qualified teacher for the post; but the disparity between his emoluments and the pay of the two Under Masters was great—therefore, the condition of the latter was brought under the notice of the Court by Hilles on the 27th November, 1587 thus:

"At this Court the Worshipful Mr. Richard Hilles moveth that some consideration be had of the small stipend which the ushers of our grammar school do receive, that some convenient augmentation be made for their better maintenance and encouragement to proceed more diligently in that charge—which motion is referred to the consideration of the next Court of Assistants."

It is certain from this entry that when a just claim for increased pay arose Richard Hilles was ready to present it to the Court, and from the next entry that the Assistants were willing to entertain it, as on the "4th December, 1587, there was granted unto the two under ushers of the Company's Grammar School at St. Laurence P'tney, in augmentation of their salaries and wages for their better maintenance and encouragement to do their duty in their place and charge the sum of 50*s.* a-piece, to be paid them

quarterly by even portions. The first payment thereof to begin at Christmas next. The same to be paid to their own hands by the younger Renter Warden, and to be allowed in his account. This pension to be continued or discontinued at the Company's pleasure."

But the Company had not heard the last of Mulcaster's claim, for after Hilles' death had been reported Mr. Peter Osborne, the Queen's Remembrancer, attended the Court on the 13th February, 1588, and demanded arrearages of 10*l.* a year for seventeen years on behalf of Mulcaster, under the agreement¹ which we have already set out, and which he alleged Hilles had made with him. The answer of the Company was that they held the actual yearly acquittances of Mulcaster, a fact which was made plain to Mr. Osborne, "and that Mr. Richard Hilles did possibly supply that 10*l.* for so many years as he could well spare it out of his own purse, which the said Mr. Mulcaster did well know." The legal claim was therefore abandoned and the Master and Wardens "*considering the estate of the man*, but the rather Mr. Osborne's request did agree that they would add to the 50*l.* debt forgiven him a sum to make up a 100 marks on the condition that he gave the Company a general release, the which the said Mr. Mulcaster was content to do, and gave the Company great thanks for their goodness towards him."

It may be convenient to dispose of Mulcaster's case so far as the Merchant Taylors were thereafter connected with him, their future intercourse with him was limited to three periods. In 1595 he assisted in the school examination on St. Barnabas Day, in 1601, he was present and dined with the other guests at the school dinner, and in April, 1609, he came before the Court (at the instance of Robert Dowe), as aged and desirous to take his ease in his old age, and having obtained a large exhibition, or pension from the Mercers—he desired from the Taylors some remembrance of their good will for his old service. He was then the Rector of Stamford Rivers in Essex—and the Court knowing that the Mercers had Colet's estate as an endowment for St Paul's, but that they had no such endowment, and that the poor of the Company were daily increasing, sent two of the Assistants "to walk forth and inform Mr. Mulcaster thereof, and to desire him to

¹ Page 167, *ante*, *i.e.*, arrears not accruing for seventeen years, but overdue for that period.

have patience, and not to press the Company with any such suit." He died in April, 1611.

The affairs of the college have been so intermingled with what has been written in relation to the school that little remains for special reference. It must, however, be noticed that the college lost its first Visitor, and both institutions their surviving mutual friend, in June, 1581. On the 18th, "the Court and ten more of such as were most mete of the Company were summoned to assemble at St. Bride's Church at 1 p.m., and so to go from thence to the Master of the Rolls' house in Charing Lane, to attend upon the body of Sir W. Cordall, Knt., late Master of the Rolls, unto Christ's Church, in London, in good and cleanly apparel without their livery hoods"—where the body was left until a vault was prepared for it at Long Melford, in Essex.

The few remaining incidents of Hilles' life are only to be gathered up from the records of the Company, which show his declining years to have been clouded with misfortune. We have already referred to the depression of the cloth trade, and his losses in business probably arose in or about the year 1565-6,¹ although he continued to pay the salary which he had previously paid to the Chief Usher up to 1568.

His wife predeceased him, leaving four sons: John, the eldest son, never appears upon our records after his admission (by patrimony) to the freedom of the Company on the 27th January, 1558. It would seem from the Herald's London Visitation of 1633-5 that he obtained a grant of arms in March, 1586, and married Miss Marshall, of Warwickshire. In 1633 his eldest son Daniel was living as a Merchant of London with children and grandchildren then alive.

Gerson and Barnabas we found in their father's business in Germany, and probably they were so engaged until commercial troubles overwhelmed them. Gerson was forty years of age and a bachelor when he became insane, and at a Court of the 18th December was appointed an Almsman of the Livery from Midsummer, 1583, at 2s. a week, and a pension of 1*l.* quarterly = 9*l.* 4*s.* He was for some time placed in an almshouse, under the care of Roger Silverwood (Clerk to the Bachelors Company) and of his wife, "being decayed in his minde and not fit to inhabit it alone."²

¹ Page 198, *ante*.

² Court minutes, 23rd May, 1610.

In addition to this pension by the Company Hilles made what it may be presumed that he thought to be a competent provision for Gerson through his son Barnabas, as, with the consent of the Company, Barnabas entered into a bond to them for the payment of 170*l.*, which he had probably received from his father as the value for an annuity of 17*l.* 10*s.* for Gerson's life from the day of his (Barnabas's) death.

Barnabas was married and had one daughter, Elizabeth, who with Catharine his widow survived him. He owned some land in Plumstead, Kent, but it would seem that in 1586 he needed some employment or provision for his maintenance, as at a Court of the 1st February he was appointed Clerk of the Company (on the decease of Haselfoote) and sworn in and to the Livery on the same day. These entries in the month following complete the history of this incident :

"1st March, 1586.

"Item, at this Court Mr Richard Hilles made a motion in the behalf of his son Barnabas Hilles, the Common Clerk, that he might have the rooms which Thomas Haselfoote, late Clerk, deceased, had. Upon which motion it is agreed that the same house shall not be had in use and dwelling as it hath been, and it is decreed that there shall be a new Company's house made for the Clerk's man by the porch, and a chamber to be builded, which shall be belonging to the same house on some part of the buttery for the said Clerke's man to lye in."

"11th March, 1586.

"Richard Wright appointed Clerk, vice Barnabas Hilles, deceased."

By his will¹ of the 6th March he gave his estate in moieties to his widow and child, and made the widow sole executrix and Roger Abdy overseer.

His death placed his assets in the hands of his widow, and, at the Court of the 8th April, 1587, Richard Hilles, in the possible anticipation of her re-marriage, asked the members to use their vigilance to see that the money secured by bond was duly received from the executors, whereupon (the entry continues) "Mr. Abdy, an executor, being present, informed the Court that it was the intention of the widow (the executrix) to pay the annuity at once if called into their presence to do so." The subject came up for further consideration on the 17th May, when Richard Hilles

¹ George Sotherton and Roger Abdy were two of the witnesses.

desired that the bond of Robert Clarke and Thomas Owen, Counsellors at Law, should be accepted by the Company in lieu of the bond of his son Barnabas. Accordingly, on the 14th June, this new bond of Clarke and Owen was brought into the Company's Treasury, and that of the late Barnabas Hilles cancelled. At a later period Clarke¹ (who became a Baron of the Exchequer in June, 1587) married Catheran, the widow of Barnabas Hilles (who died in January, 1590), and in future paid this annuity of 17*l.* to the Company.

Daniel, his fourth son, married the daughter of Will Philips the Master of 1579. He was associated and probably lived with his father in the Vintree house, as he continued to pay the rent until 1595, when the lease was assigned to Bryan Sanson.

Unfortunately before his father's death he got into trouble with his mother-in-law, and came to the Court for assistance. The story is best told in the minute of the 9th May, at which Court his father was present.

"Mr. Daniel Hilles, of Lincoln's Inn, Counsellor at the Law, son of Mr. Richard Hilles, an ancient brother of this misterie, resorted to this Court giving this assemblie to understand howe hardlie and unkindlie he had bene delt with all by his mother-in-lawe, not onlie in deteyninge from him the porcõ of his wiefe, but sufferinge him to paie and beare the daunger of divers bondes and debtes which he entered into for her late husbände his father-in-lawe, Mr Phillips, deceased, to the hasard of his credit and utter undoinge notwithstandinge she hath sufficient in her handes to contente and discharge him, and therewithall was an humble sewtor to this house, that whereas his said mother-in-lawe hath by her wilfulnes and carelesnes of the payment of the rent of the tenters and certen gardens which he held in lease of this Companie forfeyted the estate of the same, that yt would please this Courte to graunte unto him towards his reliefe and towards his satisfacõ of some parte of a debte dewe to M^r Hoskyns, a brother of this misterie, for which the said Daniell standeth bounden for his said late father-in-law, and the which the said M^{de} Phillips is boeth in lawe and equity to have care to discharge, to graunt unto him the benifit of the rest of the tearme which is unexpired in the said lease soe forfeyted by newe graunte from this Companie or by sufferaunce otherwise as they shall thinke good, and he the said Daniell shalbe greatelie bounde to this fellowship for their so liberall a graunte

¹ As to his life see Foss' Dictionary of Judges, page 166.

towards him, and will answere unto them soe much monie as is unpaide, or shuld have growen due unto the house yf the rente had bene aunswered until this daie. Whereuppon this Courte favoringe the state of the said M^r Daniell Hilles, and the rather for his father's sake, but especiallie lookinge into the manner of the takinge of the advantage of the forfeiture that the same bringeth noe benifit to this house, but is to be employed to the payment of the debtes of the said William Phillips, which his said wief is to aunswere, and soe consequentlie to her benifit though she have not the direc^{ti}on or disposi^{ti}on thereof, have graunted to the said Daniell to the use and purpose afore expressed, the benefit that may be made of soe much of the tearme men^{ti}oned in the lease as is unexpired ; the same to be sould by the Master, Wardens, and Assistents for the time beinge to the most advantage, making M^r Recorder the first offer thereof, soe as he will give asmuche for the same as another will. And for the better and more sure proceedinge in this behaulf yt is thought good that theer be a warraunte of attorney graunted under the common seale of this house to make a re-entrie into the premisses before there be anie newe estate made, and in the meantime the said Daniell Hilles to make enquirie for the advauncement of the sale of soe muche tearme as is by this Courte agreed to be graunted for his reliefe who will give the best price for the same, payinge to this house the usuall and accustomed rente."

It appeared expedient to the Court of the 17th that before "anie assurance be made of the tenters and gardens late in the occupa^{ti}on of M^{de} Phillips, or her assignes, whereof an estate the last Courte was agreed to be graunted to M^r Daniell Hilles that he should put in securitie to this howse to save them harmelesse against the widowe and all that claymed anie estate therein from her, and beare all charges of sewte which the Companie should be put unto yf she prosecute against them by lawe or by anie complaynte otherwise."

This, we presume, was done for on the 22nd September, 1587 the Clerk was empowered to make demand of all rents due on the lease granted to William Philips, and after Richard Hilles death his son came with a letter in his favour from the Lord Chancellor (Bromley) to the Court of 30th April, 1588, and the lease was granted on his nomination to Charles Hoskins, in liquidation of a debt which Daniel Hilles as surety for Phillips owed to him.

On the 19th October, 1585, Richard Hilles "of his own motion and goodwill delivered up his key of the Treasury, which was com-

mitted to him in May, 1565, to Robert Dowe,"—an indication of his wish to retire from the more active business of the Company; for at that time when the convenience of bankers was unknown, all the plate, money, and bullion of the Company was kept in the Treasure House in the garden, of which different and separate keys were held by the Master and those *Past-Masters* who enjoyed the highest esteem of the Court.

In the same year it may, from later entries, be assumed, that he again intimated to the Court his intention (though no motion by Hilles has been found) of giving his estate in Hog Lane to the Company as an Almshouse or Asylum for Widows, as on the 26th June the Master and Wardens "appointed a Committee to view the house and garden of Mr. Richard Hilles," with the object of seeing how far the site would answer the purpose of an almshouse, to which it was afterwards applied.

Having made his will on the 28th, he came to the Court of the 29th June, 1586, with a request that the trusts of it might be accepted by the Company. "As concerning the motion of the worshipful Mr. Richard Hilles, a very loving worshipful brother of this myserie, to the Master, Wardens, and Assistants to accept of his devise for the sum of 5*l.*, the said Master, Warden, and Assistants do most friendly and willingly accept of the same—as to proceed from so good and benevolent a father of this house whose charitable mind hath always been ready to maintain and relieve the poor, and with their most hearty thanks unto him for the same. They also agreed to pay the Counsell's fee of 20*s.* for advice on his will."

The will itself may give occasion for some surprise—in that Hilles gave so little for his family, and so much for the destitute poor. What provision he had made for the former in his lifetime has not been disclosed, but it is tolerably certain that the real estate was purchased in the time of his prosperity for the poor,¹ to whom, by his will, he devoted it—hence, according to his conscience, no adverse change in his own outward condition, should, deprive the poor of what he had determined to devote to their service, when his own life ended; therefore, on the 28th June, 1586, Hilles gathered around him three of his old colleagues in the Company in their presence to sign his last will, and for them to attest his signature; these were Robert Wilford, William Gerrard, and Robert

¹ Part I, pages 170-1.

Dowe, the fourth signature being that of Matthew Bacon, probably the Counsel who framed it.

The day of Hilles' death is unrecorded; but his illness probably was not a lingering one, for only two months elapsed after the last entries of December in which he took part in the proceedings of the Court, before his death was reported, and his will brought and read to the Court. This happened on 5th February, 1587, and Daniel, his son, attended "as a suitor that he might see the same devise of his father made to this Company."

The rents of the estates in Hog Lane, amounting to 10*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*, were devised to the Company, and this disposition was charged during the life of his son Gerson, with a small annuity which was to accumulate in favour of Daniel Hilles or (on his death) of Elizabeth, the daughter of Barnabas, no other member of his family being mentioned, nor other property disposed of. Upon Gerson's death these annuities were to cease, but the same amount (5*l.*) was given (as it is now paid) amongst "six of the most impotent poor aged men of good name and fame of the Fraternity, using or having occupied shearing with the broad shears or rowing at the perch, or to the widows of like men, or failing such widows, then to poor aged men of good fame and name as before should have been occupied in making of garments or any other lawful arts."¹

¹ RICHARD HILLES, 28TH JUNE, 1586.

Parcels.—"All & singular my houses messes tenements with gardens &c. in the psh of St. Buttolphe in Portsoken Ward without Aldgate London."

Donees.—The Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors Company and their successors for ever.

Habendum.—To aforesaid donees and their successors.

Trusts.—I. During the life of testator's son Gerson Hilles to retain 25*s.* quarterly out of the rents and profits of the *gardens*:

- (i.) For the use and behoof of testator's nephew, Danyeale Hilles [*i.e.*, the son of his own son Danyeale] to pay him the proceeds in a lump sum upon attaining 21 years.

[*With remainder* in case of the death of the nephew before Gerson, or before attaining 21.]

- (ii.) For the use and behoof of Elizabeth, daughter of testator's son Barnabas, to pay her the proceeds in a lump sum when she attains 21 years or marries.

II. After death of Gerson Hilles to distribute 5*l.* per annum equally at the four usual quarter days:

- (i.) Amongst six of the most impotent poor aged men being of good name and fame of the said fraternity, who then are or formerly have been occupied shearing with broad shears or rowing at the perch.

[*With remainder* relating to so much of the aforesaid 5*l.* as shall be vacant by reason of the inability of the Master and Wardens to find six such men.]

Thus closed the life of Richard Hilles, after half a century passed in active benevolence and in the prosecution of what he deemed to be religious truth, the faith of the National Church. No reader of his letters can doubt that he accepted the troubles that arose upon him in the same spirit in which he counselled Bullinger and Gualter to bear those falling upon them, and if so that they brought to him an eternal reward.

The work of his life, "the school," had been an eminent success. The number of 250 boys had been readily attained, and he must have watched with affectionate interest the promise of many youths there educated; of Edmund Spenser, who was to gain immortal fame; of Lancelot Andrews, Thomas Dove,¹ Giles Tomson, John Buckeridge, and Rowland Searchfold, who were to bear, when he had passed away, high office in the Church. He had aided the progress, and was spared to witness the success of the Reformation. He had passed the later years of his life in association with other members of his Company who were to a large extent impregnated with his spirit of benevolence, and who he felt persuaded would, when he had passed away, sustain the school and take up the purpose of his later years by providing an asylum for the poor widows of his Fraternity. In this persuasion, had he lived, he would not have been disappointed, for when the Loving Brother of the Mystery, John Stow (who must have known Hilles well) closed his Survey of London, he could write of the almshouses thus: "It is of late, to wit, in the year of our Lord, 1593, on the north side thereof [Tower Hill], and at the east of Hog Lane, beautified by certain fair almshouses, strongly built of brick and timbers and covered with slate, for the poor of the Merchant Taylors of London in place of some small cottages given them by Richard Hilles, sometime a Master of that Company."

The purpose of his colleagues lingered but a short time after his death before it was carried into execution. Within the year

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- (ii.) Amongst so many widows who have been wives of such as were qualified to take under the foregoing trust.

[*With remainder* relating to so much of the aforesaid 5*l.* as shall be vacant by reason of the inability of the Master and Wardens to find six such men and widows.]

- (iii.) Amongst so many of the most impotent poor aged men being of good name and fame of the Merchant Taylors Company as are then occupied, or hereafter shall be occupied, making of garments or any other lawful art, mistery, or menial occupation.

¹ Dove gained a fellowship at Pembroke College, Cambridge, against Spenser, but the fact of there being former school fellows was not known to Spenser's biographer.

“it was called to remembrance that Mr. Richard Hilles did before his death make motion to the Court that those tenements which he proposed to devyse to the Company might be employed to receive widows,” and offerings from individual members began to be received. In August, 1592, the work was commenced, the worthy Robert Dowe being appointed “Treasurer for the building,” which in the year 1593 was completed. But now that the fourteen houses were ready for occupation how were they to be supplied with poor widows, seeing that the corporate income was unequal to bear such a charge?

Only a very short time elapsed before that difficulty disappeared, for fourteen members of the Court whose names are preserved, notable men in their day, each came forward to bear the charges of *one* poor widow, thus these houses were filled with occupiers, and the benevolent purpose of Richard Hilles was initiated for still larger development in future years.¹

It remains for us to follow out the lives of his sons, Gerson and Daniel, after their father's death, and to advert to the life of one of Hilles' apprentices, so far as the records enable us to do so.

As to his sons: we have already shown that Gerson was an inmate of one of the Company's almshouses, under the care of the Bachelors' Clerk, but it would seem that he was afterwards removed to a chamber in Bishopsgate Street, which the Company leased for him at a rent of 4*l.* per annum, which rent they paid out of the annual income held on his account.

The next entry on our records shows that an act of inhumanity against him was prevented by the active intervention—probably at the instance of the Company—of the Lord Mayor and Chamberlain of the city. It runs thus:

“23rd June, 1593.—At this Court one John Lyle, carpenter, who hath obtained a lease of the Chamber of ————— of a tenēt without Bishopsgate, wherein Gerson Hills, the ‘lunitike,’ hath been kept hitherto ever since his lunycye, and lately went about to expel the same Gerson Hills, but that he was prevented by order of the Lord Mayor and Mr. Chamberlain, doth now notwithstanding offer to the Company an estate of the same tenēt for 21 years at the yearly rent of 4*l.* for the fine of 30*l.* to be used by the Company either for the relief of the said Gerson Hills or otherwise at their pleasure. This Court having consideration of the extremity of the case and the state of the poor man being

¹ Part I, pages 169 and 192.

moved with compassion towards him for that he was the son of a worþful and loving brother and benefactor to this Company are content to give the said Lyfe the sum of 28*l.* for a lease of the said teñt at the yearly rent of 4*l.*, so that the same may be sufficiently conveyed to the Company, and do resolve to employ the said teñt in the keeping and lodging of the said Gerson Hilles during so many of the years of the said term as he shall fortune to live." Provision was thus made for housing Gerson Hilles until his death.

The cash entries show that the Court made provision for his maintenance until his death, which happened in May, 1610:—

"1602-3.—Item, to Garson Hills, an other of the almsmen of the livery, for his allowance as an almsman, 5*l.* 4*s.*; and for his pention graunted by the Company 4*l.*, being together with 17*l.* received of Mr. Baron Clarke ymployed for his maintenance by reason of his weakness as by a bill appeareth. I saie paid (*inter alia*), 9*l.* 4*s.*"

"Item, paid for the maintenance of the said Garson Hills for the provision of his dyett, apparell, house rent, fewell, church duties, and other necessities, as by 2 particular bills appeareth, the sum of 22*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, whereof this accountant is allowed in the next some before the some of 9*l.* 4*s.*, so as he is to be allowed more for him which he disbursed as appeareth by the bill of particulars, 13*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*—I say paid, 13*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*

"1608-9.—Item, paid for the maintenance of the said Garson Hilles for the provision of his diet, apparell, house rent, fuel, church duties, and other necessities, as by a particular bill appeareth the sum of 25*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, whereof this accountant is before allowed the sum of 9*l.* 4*s.* last before entered, and also of Mr. Fish's gift, 20*s.*, and of Mr. Hyde's gift, 3*s.* 2*d.* *In toto*, 10*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*, which, being deducted out of the said sum of 25*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, he is to be allowed more for him which he disbursed as appeareth by his bill, 14*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*"

"1609-10.—Item, whereas Mr. Richard Hilles by his will devised that after the death of his son, Garson Hills, the Masters and Wardens should, after their godly discretions, give freely 5*l.* amongst 6 of the most impotent poor aged men of this fraternity of good name now or heretofore occupying shearing with broad shears . . . and whereas the said Garson Hilles died sithence on Ladyday¹ last past, there was paid according to the said will (for one quarter) 1*l.* 5*s.*

¹ The entry of Lady-day as the date of his death must be corrected, as he was buried at St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, on the 13th May, 1610, aged 63.

As to Daniel, it would seem from the entries which follow that he was appointed one of the Counsel to the Company by order of the Court of the 3rd May, 1595. Thus: "This day it is agreed that Mr. John White of the Midle Temple and Mr. Danyel Hilles of Lincoln's Inn, being both free of this Society, shall be retained as standing Counsellors for this Society and there is granted unto either of them severally and respectively a yearly fee of 40s. apiece. To be paid at Midsomer and Xmas by even portions." And that he fell into decayed circumstances as this minute of the 8th August, 1607, discloses:—

"Whereas divers years past the Company granted unto Mr. Daniel Hilles, Counsaillor at Law, a yearly standing fee of 40s. per annum during the Companies' pleasure which hath been yearly paid accordingly, forasmuch as by reason of suretyship he is grown into some want, it hath pleased the Company upon his humble suit to grant him five years' fee beforehand, amounting to 10*l*. The same to be paid by our Master, and to be allowed him in his account."¹

Daniel, the grandson, came before the Court on the 14th June, 1596, as suppliant to the Company, upon the introduction of Mr. George Sotherton, who informed the Court "that young Hill having the purpose to enter into the study of the Law and to admit himself of Lincoln's Inn, and being unfurnished with money to pay the charge of his admittance and to buy apparel, book, and other necessaries," required "that the Company should grant by way of anticipation the sum of 10*l*. in part payment of the sum of 100*l*. granted to him by his grandfather's will on his attaining the age of 21 years, the applicant then being 19½ years of age, and the said young Hill being called in doth humbly recommend his own suit. Whereupon this house falling into consideration albeit it appeareth very evident that if the said young Hill should die before he should accomplish his age of 21 years the said money may be hereafter required of the Company, but for the love they bear to his good grandfather and in hope it will do the young man good, the Company are content to grant unto him the said sum according to his motion, and the Clerk is warned to have an eye and oversight that it may be bestowed as by the motion is intended."

It may be noticed that Daniel Hilles had not any legacy of the definite amount of 100*l*., but only the accumulations of quarterly

¹ We do not find the annual payment of 40s. commencing again in 1612-13.

payments, whatever they would amount to, if and when he attained 21 years of age.

From a Court minute of 14th October, 1597, Daniel Hilles, the younger, appears to have attained the age of 21 years, and to have had his claim presented for the payment of the balance of his legacy through George Sotherton, executor to his grandfather.

At the same Court Sotherton put the Court in remembrance that the sum of 6*l.* 10*s.*, lent by Mr. Richard Hilles to this Company for the provision of corn was still due to his estate, and that he had forbore to ask for the repayment intending the sum for the good of "the said young Daniel Hills."¹

The facts were undisputed, and it was only for the Court to determine what course should be taken. The entry continues in these words:—

Albeit the Company had lost eight shillings in the pound in this corn transaction, "yet he desired the Company's favour to the said young man who in regard to the great love they bore unto his grandfather," and as the money was to be placed in the "hands of Mr. Alderman Low for the good of the young man," they were content to make up his money to the full sum of 50*l.* upon receiving his acquittance and that of Mr. Sotherton as executor.

As to Richard Hilles' apprentices, though he had eight who became freemen, two only need to be noticed—William Salkyn² (who has been already referred to) and Leonard Halliday, whose career may be taken as an illustration of the advantages of the Guild system. After describing the origin of our apprentice system, and upholding it as having had a most beneficial influence upon the community, Sir Francis Palgrave³ proceeds thus:

"So long as the engagement subsisted according to its pristine spirit, it rendered the master and the servant members of one household and family—the parties were united by the mutual obligation of protection and obedience. The mutual connexion recognised better elements than those of mere profit and gain. He would be an unwise legislator for his fellowmen, who could omit to take self-interest into consideration as a most powerful impelling motive: but a sorry one is he, who relies upon self-interest as affording any kind of security for diligence or industry, or for any quality to which the name of virtue can be ascribed. Whatever the political economist may urge to the contrary, unless men begin

¹ As to these assessments see Part I, page 246.

² Page 142, *ante*.

³ *The Merchant and the Friar*, pages 110–11, London, 1844.

by bettering themselves, all his assumed recipes for bettering their condition are in vain.

“Motives infinitely more valuable than those of mere money and money’s worth, were engrafted upon the system of apprenticeship, so long as its spirit was properly observed. The admission into the guild after the period of probation had concluded, was an attestation that, during the period of life when the human character is most susceptible of the influence of habit and example, the future citizen had conducted himself with a due attention to diligence and morality. Gratitude towards a kind master—emulation excited by an able one—the necessity of conciliating a harsh superior—affection towards an infirm or needy parent—the wish to be married—to form that union which the church so emphatically calls a ‘holy state,’ and upon which the happiness of the individual, and, through the individual, the happiness of the State, so mainly depends—all these rendered the guilds an unceasing source of moral renovation to the Commonwealth.”

Leonard Halliday, who came from Rodborough, in the Stroud Valley of Gloucestershire, entered Hilles’ family as an apprentice, and then became a freeman upon his certificate in April, 1564. He started into business in May, and in the same month came to the Merchant Taylors Company for a loan of 25*l.* from Hugh Acton’s Trust, his old master and fellow-apprentice Salkyn standing his sureties.¹ In 1572, we find him assessed as in the Bachelors Company, and when Nicholas Spencer was Master in 1588, he became Renter Warden, and when Richard Proctor was Master in 1593, he again served, having William Craven and John Harrison of Crosby, as two of his co-Wardens. In 1594, he was elected a member of the higher hierarchy of the Corporation, and became first Alderman, and then, in 1595, one of the Sheriffs, receiving on the 17th September the hearty congratulations of his fellows on his elevation.

In 1602 his brother William became connected with the Company, as succeeding Rowe in his tenancy of one of the Company’s larger houses² in Bishopsgate Street, at a rent of 14*l.* When the

¹ “May, 1566. Item likewise the persons undernamed are admitted as sureties of Leonard Holydaye for the repayment of 25*l.* to him, delivered in free loan according to the devise of the said Mr. Hugh Acton—viz., Mr. R. Hilles, W. Salkens, and Thos. Langton, brethren of this mystery.”

² Here he had in custody the Earl of Bedford for complicity in the Essex Rebellion of 1599, see 11 Rept., Hist. MS., pages 4 and 11. William Halliday was a Mercer, and his widow married the Earl of Warwick, and inhabited this house.

East India Company was originated Leonard became one of the principal promoters and Treasurer.

On the 26th July, 1603, the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him by the King at Whitehall, and last of all in 1605 he attained the summit of a citizen's ambition—the office of "Mayor of London," having a pageant written by Anthony Munday, and performed by the Merchant Taylors Company.

And when he had attained success who were prouder of it and of him than his fellow guildsmen, or who ever had a heartier welcome in their hall than Leonard Halliday? for on two successive quarter days he is to be found amongst them as their guest, and these are the entries of his entertainment:—

"Quarter day.—According to auncient and usuall order, fyrst the names of the Livery were called, and then Prayer made and the Ordynaunces and Benefactors redd and remembered. After which, preparacon was made to entertain the Right Hon^{ble} Sir Leonard Halliday, the Lord Mayor (being a member of this Company), and the Sheriffs, at the dinner: also the Lady Mayoress the Aldermen's wives, the Masters' and the Wardens' wives for the present yeare. For the dinner the Master p^dvided fourteen messe of meate, whereof fyve were served to the High table, eight to the Livery Table, and one in the Parlor for the Sword Bearer and the Waitinge Women."—[16th December, 1605.]

"At this Court the names of the Assistants and Lyvery were called and the defaulte marked, then prayer made in reverent manner and the materiall ordynances for the government of the Company, and the benefacto^{rs} and their severall devises were redd and remembered; and so the Company hastened to entertayne the Right Honorable Sir Leonard Halliday, Knight, y^e Lord Mayor (being one of this Company), and also the Sheriffs, being invited to this dynner. There was also invited the Lady Maiores, and other ladies, Aldermen's wives, Maisters' wyves, and Wardens' wyves of the Company; at which tyme the Maister provided a bountifun dynner of sixteene messe of meate, whereof fyve were served to the High Table, nyne to the Lyvery Table, and two to a side table ill the hall where the Swordbearer and others sate; and at this dynner my Lord Maior did drinck to the newe elected Sheriffe (viz., Mr. Alderman Walthall), and the Maister allowed Ipocras and Wafers wth the water barly caried unto him."—[17th May, 1606.]

His place of residence in early life is not disclosed, but on the 25th May, 1606, he became the lessee of Sir Wolstone Dixie of a great messuage and five tenements adjoining, situate in Basing-

shaw, of which premises the Company became the purchasers in 1612, and had them conveyed to William Parker.

Halliday's commercial transactions with the East India Company were not at all times mutually satisfactory, as in July, 1607, we find the Directors of that year threatening him with proceedings at law unless he paid into their Treasury the money which they alleged to be due from him. In December, 1608, this money still remained unpaid, and to obtain an amicable settlement the Directors were willing to refer their differences with Sir Leonard to "four good men—such men not being Aldermen." Probably these differences were amicably settled before July, 1609, as at the Court holden in that month for the annual election of officers he was with other men of high repute put in nomination as Governor for the year ensuing, when Sir Thomas Smythe was elected Treasurer.¹

Until July, 1594, on the 17th of which month he was elected "Alderman of Portsoken Ward, he was a constant attendant at the Courts of the Company, but after that date his annual attendances never exceeded eight in number, and were as low as two in the year. His last attendance being given on the 2nd September, and his will² is dated the 6th January, 1611.

His wife was Anne, the daughter of William Wincot, of Langham, in the county of Stafford, and on becoming a widow married Sir Henry Montague, who was the former Recorder of London, and afterwards the first Earl of Manchester, but by whom she had no issue, and died before 1620.

¹ Cal. State Papers (E.I.) 1513-1616, pages 155-7, 173 and 187.

² Sir Leonard Halliday, by his will dated 6th January, 1611, after the usual preface that his body should be buried (at St. Michael Bassishaw) and his debts paid, directed all his property whatsoever to be divided, according to the common custom of the City of London, into two parts, and he gave one of these parts to Dame Anne, his dearly beloved wife, and as to the other part he gave out of it an additional 2,000*l.* to his wife, 1,000*l.* to his grandchild John Halliday, and 1,000*l.* to his grandchild Elizabeth Halliday, with other legacies. He gave all the rest and residue to his wife, and appointed her sole executrix, and appointed as assessors of his will, James Lancaster, Knight; Henry Lilburn, Knight; Robert Ducy, Merchant Taylor; John Burton, Grocer. The will was witnessed by (*inter alia*) James Lancaster and Robert Ducie.

CHAPTER XVII.

SIR WILLIAM HARPER (MASTER 1553, LORD MAYOR 1561). FOUNDER OF BEDFORD SCHOOL.

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IN the list of guildsmen who were school founders at this period comes the name of Sir William Harper, who was the colleague of White and Hilles. The materials for his biography are not so abundant¹ as of other guildsmen, but as Machyn makes occasional mention of him, and as the Company possess an MS. account of his pageant, we propose to place before the reader some record of his life.

Little of Sir William Harper's early history is known, save that he was born at Bedford, in or about the year 1496, came up to London, was apprenticed to a Merchant Taylor, and became a freeman of the Company at the age of 36, in the year 1533, two years before Richard Hilles took up his freedom.

He married as his first wife Alice, the widow of Richard Harrison. Her maiden name was Thomlyson, Thomas of that name

¹ I am not aware of any printed life of Harper except that of the late Mr. J. G. Nichols in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries, 14th February, 1870.

living in St. Mildreds, Poultry, being her relation, and a Merchant Taylor, and a benefactor to his Company by will of April, 1567,¹ but there was no issue of the marriage.²

He must have attained success in business in a comparatively short period, for his scheme for the Bedford charities originated in 1552, as the Corporation obtained Letters Patent in the 6th Edward VI, dated 15th August,³ to establish a grammar school for the education, institution, and instruction of children and youths in grammar and good manners, to endure for ever, with a free license to purchase lands to the annual value of 40*l.* to sustain the school, and for the marriage of poor maids, and for poor children, and for alms to the poor of the town at his instance; though it is a notable feature in his life that Harper gave no endowment to the school until Mary's reign had closed.

In the same year, during the mayoralty of Sir G. Barnes, Harper was named for the office of Sheriff, three other persons (Grymes, Clayton, and Browne) having been previously put in nomination and either fined or excused. "The Commons" then nominated "seven persons whereof they draue yt to two, which were William Harper, Merchant Taylor, and William Browne, Mercier—the said William Harper being then present in the Hall came up into the Hustings Court ymedietely and desired the Commons to be good to him—sayinge that his substance and goodes were out of his handes—desiring them to favor him for that tyme, and hereafter he would be glad to take the office if it shall so chance to him, which they agreed unto, and so tryed againe with some and William Browne. The election fell whole to William Browne,"⁴ but the person ultimately chosen will be seen from Stow to have been "John Maynard," Robert Melles, another Merchant Taylor, being put up *pro forma* for election.

Having passed through the office of Warden, he became Master of the Company in the reign, if it may be called such, of Lady Jane Grey (July, 1553), and continued in office during the first year of Mary's reign, with Sir Thomas White as Lord Mayor; therefore, in the events of that mayoralty, Sir William Harper had to bear his part as Master of the Lord Mayor's Company.

¹ See page 163, *ante*, and Memorials, page 279, and Melbourn's St. Mildred, pages, 104-5.

² He served the office of Warden (say) within 15 years of his freedom, but our records are not complete as to these offices at this period.

³ Printed verbatim in vol. 3, page 339, School Inquiry Commission.

⁴ Wriothlesley's Diary, pages 73-4.

Harper had pledged himself to accept the office of Sheriff, and during the mayoralty of Sir William Gerard, Machyn records that he attended the Grocers' feast, and was there nominated "as Sheriff for the King" during the ensuing year; thus :

"The xv day of June was the Grosers' fest; and ther dynyd [the lord] mayre and viiiij althermen, and my lord cheyff justice, master Chamley¹ the recorder, and mony worshefull men, and my lade mares and mony lade and althermen wyffes and gentyll-women, and then was the master of the compene master Whyt grocer and altherman, and master Grafton and master Grenway wardens that tyme, and Master Harper altherman marchund-tayller was chosyn shreyff for the kyng."

His colleagues for the official year 1556-7 were his friend Sir Thomas Offley and the brother of the Bishop of Winchester, Sir John White, who were respectively Lord Mayor and Junior Sheriff. Probably about this time he settled himself "in the largest and stateliest house belonging to the Merchant Taylors Company, situate in Lombard Street,"² Sir John Percyvale's gift to the Company.

We have already seen from the earlier entries that a guildsman on election as Sheriff had a grant of money and a loan of plate, which would come to Harper as of course, but later entries show these customs of personal service from his brother guildsmen which it may be interesting to notice :

1st. Upon his receiving and giving over the prisoners in the various gaols and compters of London, he was according to an antient custom which is thus set out in a later entry relating to retiring Sheriffs, attended by a deputation of his Company :—

"At a Court of the 25th September, it was ordered that according to the ancient orders of the city sixteen persons, namely, the Master and three Wardens and others whose names are set out at the entry, shall repair to dinner to Mr. Sheriff in their best and richest furs upon Michaelmas Eve, and that after dinner only eight of them, namely, the eight first above named with their hoods on their shoulders and the Clerk and Beadle with their hoods shall attend Mr. Sherrif from his house to Christchurch, Newgate Market, there to meet with new Sheriff and from thence to go to the several jails and prisons of the said city to testify and bear witness with Mr. Sherrif to the delivery up of his gaols and

¹ Ranulph Cholmley.

² Now the Offices of the General Steam Company.

prisons and the prisoners in the same and then to bring the same Sheriff home to his house."

This explanation is then added: "and notice that the said Sheriff was not attended in the morning from his house to the hall for such attendance only pertaineth to the new Sheriffs at their entrance, and the old Sheriffs are at that day to attend the Lord Mayor in the morning, and therefore the Company repaired not to his house until it was full dinner time."¹

2nd. At the annual festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, the entry of the guildsmen's duty to their brother ran in these words:—

"Mr. William Harper, a worth member of this Societie, doth presently supply the roome of one of the Sheriff's of this Cytty for the present year by a note lately received from the Yeldhall, under the hand of one of my Lord Mayor's Clerks. The Merchantaillors Company are to pvide for the Lord Mayor's feaste as followeth, viz.:—Sixteene psons to sitt at Mr. Sheriff's table, viz., the third table. Sixe psons to welcome guests. Two to attend the kitchin. Tenn of the comliest young men of the yeomanry to attend the lodger for carrying of meate and linnen and plate to the Judges. Remember to gyve knowledge to the tenn wayters that there is noe breakfast pvided for them at the feaste" (the names of parties attending are given).

The Members detailed off to wait on the Sheriff would be such in degree and quality, as they were in the year 1598, from which this procedure is taken, thus:—

John Churchman	}	Old Masters.
Nowell Sotherton		
Richard Gore	}	Assistants.
Walter Plumer		
Thomas Aldworth		
Thomas Juxon		

The above to welcome the Lords of the Council, and other guest
and to survey in the Hall.

John Hyde	}	Of the Livery.
Richard Scales		

To attend in the kitchen for receiving and delivering out of
the diet.

Four Present and four Past Wardens	..	..	8
Of the Livery. . . . .	..	..	8
			—
			16

¹ This entry is taken from the records of Mr. Leonard Halliday's year of office.

To dine at the Guildhall on the morrow of St. Simon and St. Jude.

Ten young men of the Company to wait in their gowns, and to be there by Nine of the clock.

John Rivington	}	Being two brothers of the Clothworking.
John Bullock		

To supply the place of Ushers or Whiffiers to go before the Company that day.¹

After an interval of four years and Hilles' election to the Mastership in July, Harper was elected as Mayor in October, 1561, being about 65 years of age when he entered into the mayoralty. The fact of two such Merchant Taylors being in office possibly induced the Company to enter heartily into making the pageant for the Lord Mayor elect, particulars of which are given in the next chapter.

Although we do not find the name of Henry Machyn, the Diarist, in any of the lists of the members taking part in the pageant, he gives this description of it:—

“The xxix day of October the nuw mare toke ys barge towhard Westmynster my nuw lord mare master Harper, with the althermen in ther skarlett, and all the craftes of London in ther levereie and ther barges with ther baners and streamers of evere occupasyon (s) armes; and ther was a goodly foist mad with stremars, targatts, and banars, and [arms], and grett shutyng of gunes and trunpettes blohyng; and at xij of the cloke my lord mare and the althermen landyd at Powlles warffe, and so to Powlles chyrche-yarde, and ther met ym a pagantt gorgiously mad, with chylderyn, with dyvers instrumentes playng and syngyng; and after-non to Powlles with trumpetes, and ther wher a (*blank*) men in bluw gownes and capes and hose and bluw saten slevys, and with targetts and shyldes of armes.”

The year of office upon which Harper entered as Lord Mayor was not eventful in political incidents, and very few orders from the Privy Council are to be found addressed to him. One towards the close of his year which was sent to his predecessor is perhaps unique. The King of Sweden had been a rejected suitor for the hand of Elizabeth, and the “Stationers had uttered certain papers wherein be printed the face of Her Majesty and the King of Sweden, and although Her Highness is not miscontented that

¹ The customs were the same (though not entered) on the records of 1553, and this entry dates when Robert Hampson was Sheriff.—Memorials, page 539.

either her own face or the sayd king's shuld be printed or protracted, yet, to be joined in one paper with the said king, or any other prynce that is known to have made any request for mariadg to Her Majesty is not to be allowed, therefore the Queen commanded the Lord Mayor to send for the Wardens of the Stationers that all the papers should be taken and packed up together in sort as none of them be permitted to be seene in any place."¹

The ordinary duties of a Lord Mayor in those days gain illustration from the entries which Machyn makes of Harper's doings as such; the Reformation had no doubt made some changes in those which we have before referred to as existing in Sir Thomas White's mayoralty, but "Saint's Days" were still observed and notably that of "All Saints," which is thus described:

"[The j day of November went to saint Paul's the lord mayor] and the althermen at afternon [and all the crafts of] London in ther levere, and with iiij^{xx} men all carehyng of torchys, and my lord mare [tarried until] nyght, and so whent home with all torches [lighted,] for my lord mare tared the sermon; my lord of London mad the sermon; but yt was latt, [and so] there torchys was lyght to bryng my lord home."

Then came another religious ceremonial in which Harper had to take part. The "good Sir Rowland Hylle,² Knight, and late Mayre of this nobull cette of London and Merser, died at xij of the cloke at midnight on the 28th October," and on 5th November Sir W. Harper attended his funeral as "cheyff morner." It was unusual for the near relative to attend the funeral as chief mourner, and voluntarily to fill the office was an expression of the highest respect for the deceased. The direction of the funeral solemnities was then in the hands of the Heralds,³ who registered the event with the names of the executors and of the deceased's

¹ Burghley Papers, Vol. I, page 368, order of 21st July, 1561, and 2 Arch., 169.

² Sir Rowland Hill was chosen Lord Mayor on Michaelmas Day, 1549, as thus recorded by Wriothesley (Vol. II, page 23):—"Memorandum. Sir Henry Amcottes, Knt., Lord Mayor, Sir W. Laxton, Knt., Sir Martin Bowes, Knt., and Mr. Richard Turck, Alderman, received the Holy Communion at the Guildhall Chapel, the service being in English according to the King's Booke, my Lord Mayor's chaplaine executinge at the aulter and ministeringe the Communion in a cope with certaine of the parish clerks, which songe the service in the quire, which was a goodly example for all the citizens to followe. And this day was chosen for Lord Mayor for the next year, Sir Rowland Hill, Knight and Alderman." I may mention that he was the trustee of Sir Thomas White's marriage settlement.

³ Vol. 6, page 244, Hist., MS., as to the controversy between the "Garter," and "Clarenceux" as to the right to bury a deceased Lord Mayor (Allot.) 1590. See the entry of Sir Thomas Rowe's funeral on 2nd September, 1570. Gresham Family (1863), page 9.

children in the College of Arms; for the office of "Undertaker" was not introduced until after 1688. The distinctions of rank were strictly observed on these ceremonials, banners of arms were reserved for peers and their wives, but the rich citizens of London were able to increase their funeral pomp by hearse cloths of their guilds, and by displaying penons of the city arms, and of the Company to which they belonged.¹

Aldermen who had passed the Chair were by antient custom buried with special solemnity, and usually by torchlight, but as these funerals frequently led to scenes of riot and disorder, they were prohibited in Charles I's reign. This injunction the Heralds feared would be injurious to their employment and be construed so to discourage the "laudable custome" of solemn and ceremonious interment "of such as have borne office in the place of Lord Mayor," so that the Earl Marshall wrote to the Lord Mayor in July, 1635, "earnestly to desire his Lordship to see the antient and reverent ceremony at the enterment both of this gentleman (Sir Richard Deane, Lord Mayor in 1628, then lying unburied), and those of his quality in the city, to be decently celebrated and duly observed according to the accustomed solemnities, and with the usual rights to the memory of the deceased."²

In reading Machyn's account of Sir Rowland Hylle's funeral we may contrast it with his description of Amcote's funeral in White's mayoralty,³ as illustrating the changes in the religious service which the Reformation had introduced, thus:—

"The v day of November was bered in sant Stephen's in Walbroke ser Rowland Hylle, latt mare and altherman and mercer and knyght, with a standard and v pennons of arms, and a cott armur and a helmet, a crest, sword, and mantyll, and xj dosen of skochyons of armes; and he gayff a c. gownes and cottes to men and women; and ther wher ij haroldes of armes, master Clarenshux and master Somersett, and my lord mayre morner, the cheyff morner; ser Recherd Lee, master Corbett, with dyvers odur morners, ser Wylliam Cordell, ser Thomas Offeley, ser Martens Bowes and master Chamburlan althermen, and the ij shreyffes, and master Chambur . . and master Blakewell, with mony mo morners, and a l. pore men in good blake gownes, besyd women; and the dene of Powlles mad the sermon; and after all donc my lord mayre and mony and althermen whent to the Mercers

¹ Part I, page 101.

² See Waters on Parish Registers, London, 1877, page 50, and *passim*.

³ *Ante*, page 136.

hall and the craft to dener, and the resedu to ys plase to dener, and grett mon mad for ys deth, and he gayff myche to the pore."

Machyn's next notice shews that the lord of misrule which the civic ordinances of 1554 abolished in the houses of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs had been revived, for on "the xxvj day of Desember cam rydyng through London a lord of mysrull, in clene complett harnes, gylt, with a hondered grett horse and gentyll-men rydyng gorgyously with chenes of gold, and there horses godly trapytt, unto the Tempull, for ther was grett cher all Cryustynmas tyll (*blank*) and grett revels as ever was for the gentyllmen of the Tempull evere day, for mony of the conselle was there.

. of myssrule

playhyng and syngyng unto the [court with my] lord, there was grett chere at the gorgyusly apparrell(ed) with grett cheynes."

Again they appeared on the 12th January, when Sir W. Harper, and the Aldermen "whent to Powlles, and all the craftes in London in ther levere, and the bachelars, and after cam into Chepe-syd a lord of mysrulle from Whytt-chapell with a grett compene with many gones and halbardes, and trumpettes blohyng; and ys men well be-sene: and thugh Nuwgatt and in at Ludgatt and so abowtt Powlles, and so into Chepe-syde, and so hom to Algatt."

Harper's first recorded act of hospitality was to Thomas Howard, the Duke of Norfolk (beheaded on Tower Hill in 1572) who appears to have had an hereditary connection with the Fishmongers Company. In the same month the Master and Wardens and all that clothing came with him to Guildhall that he might be made free of their Company, when the ceremony ended by his dining with Sir W. Harper at his house in Lombard Street, but the Fishmongers, strange to say, dined not at their Hall, but at the "King's Head," in Fish Street, a well-known tavern of that period.

Athough we have called him *Sir* W. Harper, yet he was not such until the 13th February when he was dubbed at Westminster, according to the then prevailing usage of knighting the Lord Mayor.

The next incident is of a tumult which arose after the marriage of Ald. Sir John White's daughter on the 12th May, which obliged the constables to send for Sir William Harper and the Sheriffs

"and they had a do to pasefy the pepull, and dyvers wher hurtt, and s[ertain] cared to Nuwgatt and to the conturs, and ther was . . . the best archers of London with the flethe, and master Underelle hu. . the master of the comen-huntt."

Precautions were still needed, and on the next night, Sir W. Harper commanded "that serten constabulles shuld kepe all Smyth-feld to stand in a-ray in harnes to see wo wold be so bold to com and make any besenes, and my lord mare and the shreyffes dyd walke abowt Smyth-feld to se wether any wold make any salt as they dyd over nyght."

No description of the wedding is given except that it was a "goodly" one, and no mention is made of the Lord Mayor's presence as a guest, but when Master Nicholls (who was in fact John Nicolls, the Bridge Controller) married his daughter to Edmund Cooke, of Lizers, Kent, on the 2nd July, Sir W. Harper was present. This, too, was a "goodly wedding," and would seem to have been so accounted because of his presence, "for ther w[ere the lord] mare and alle the althermen, and mony lades and mony w[orshipful] men and women, and after the wedyng was done [they went] home to the Bryghowse to dener, for ther w[as a great dinner] as ever was seen, and all maner musyke, and d[ancing all the] day longe, and at nyght goodly soper; and after a goodly [masque? at] mydnyght; at the wedyng master Becon¹ dyd pryche; for [there were] no maner mettes nor drynges that cold be had for m[oney that were wanting]."

Harper's presence at the Merchant Taylors' feasts in 1555 and 1562, have been already noticed, but one annual custom² which he observed—the visit of the Lord Mayor and Corporation to the Waterheads, with the day's sport to which the custom led them,—has yet to be mentioned, as it opens up a phase of city life then frequent, but for many years lost to sight and even to remembrance—the city hunt.

When FitzStephen wrote his description of London in Henry II's reign he prefaced it thus:—

"It is expedient that a city be not only an object of utility and importance, but also a source of pleasure and diversion," and after enumerating various games which the youthful citizens

¹ This was (we presume) "Thomas Bacon" who published in 1561, *The Sick Man's Salve*. He was made Prebendary of Canterbury, by Queen Elizabeth, and died in 1570.

² Page 145 and 171.

enjoyed, he adds, "most of the citizens amused themselves in sporting, and have the right of hunting in Middlesex, Herts, all the Chilterns, and Kent as far as the Cray."

In this there was something more involved than the enjoyment of its exercise, it was a declaration of social, if not of political, status. The Norman conquerors enforced the forest laws by which they assumed the sole property in game to be the King's, and this right of the Crown, only relaxed in favour of the higher classes,¹ has been reserved to the citizens in all their charters.²

This right was not in abeyance, but in full exercise for many years. Thus there is a record "of the full congregation of the Common Council of London in A.D. 1379,³ appointing as their huntsman (called the "Common Hunt,") one John Charney, and assigning to him 10*l.* yearly—no small salary in those days—arising from the profits of the stations about the crosses in the Cheape of London," and the office continued on the City establishment until the death of Mr. Charles Cottessall in 1807. The kennel and huntsman's house were on the site of the present Finsbury Charity School in Tabernacle Row, E.C.⁴

The water heads which were visited as an annual custom were numerous. Until A.D. 1285, London citizens supplied themselves as they could from the bournes or streams running near to their houses, but in this year, Henry Wallies being Mayor, the great conduit in West Cheape was established, with water brought from Paddington or Tyburn. This and other conduits were the main supply to London, until Peter Morris, a Dutchman, brought water into men's houses from the Thames in 1582.

The visit that Harper is recorded to have made was to Tyburn and Bayswater. From Stow's description and the incidents to be mentioned it is clear that the suburbs of London were an open country, and that there were no paved roads or enclosures, at least in that direction, to prevent the citizens from sporting.

The repair of roads in and about London appears to have originated the collection of tolls from those using them. The first

¹ The earliest charter of Henry I (A.D. 1099) gave many franchises and privileges to the citizens, concluding thus: "And the citizens of London may have their chase to hunt as well and fully as their ancestors ever had."

² *Liber Albus*, pages 116-35.

³ Riley, *Memorials*, pages 428 and 437.

⁴ *Allen's London*, Vol. II, page 288.

⁵ As to New River supply, Part I, page 339.

instance mentioned by Rymer is in July, 1346, where the Master of the Hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields was ordered to collect tolls for two years to repair the road to the New Temple;¹ and the second in March, 1353, when tolls were to be collected for the repair of the roadway from Temple Bar to Westminster Abbey.

Parliament first interfered in 1532-3, by the 24th Henry VIII, cap. 11, enacting that the roadway between the two crosses of the Strand and Charing should be "paved with paving-stones on each side from their lands or tenements to the middle of the same way" by the adjacent owners under penalties therein enacted;² and in the next year by the 25th Henry VIII, cap. 8, which obliged the owners to pave in like manner the street from Holborn Bridge to Holborn Bars.

The earliest general paving act was the 32nd Henry VIII, passed in 1540, which while naming certain specific streets (as Aldgate to Whitechapel, Chancery Lane, Gray's Inn Lane, Shoe Lane, Fetter Lane, Holborn Bars to High Holborn) and requiring the adjacent owners to pave them by St. John Baptist's Day, 1542, gave an authority to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London to see that this paving was done, and that the pavements of the City were properly maintained.³

This visit of Sir W. Harper and his day's sport are thus recorded by Machyn:—

"The xvij day of September my lord mare and my masters the althermen, and mony worshephull men, and dyvurs of the masturs and wardens of the xij compenys, red [to the] condutth hedes for to se them, after the old custoum; and a-[fore] dener they hundyd the hare and kyllyd, and so to dener to the hed of the condyth, for ther was a nombur, and had good chere of the cham-burlayn."

We gather from Strype that the dinner was at the Banqueting House of the Corporation, at the head of the conduit where Stratford Place, in Oxford Street, now stands. But only half the day's sport has yet been recorded, for "after dener to hontyng of the fox, and ther was a goodly cry for a mylle, and after the hondys kyllyd the fox at the end of sant Gylles, and theyr was a grett cry

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, *passim*.

² Statutes of Realm, Vol. III, page 427.

³ It is unnecessary to pursue the subject, but those desiring to do so will find many roads and streets enumerated in the 24th and 25th Henry VIII, cap. 12, which Parliament ordered to be paved.

at the deth, and blohyng of hornes; and so rod through London, my lord mare Harper with ys compene home to ys owne plase in Lumberd strett."

Thus it may be presumed that at the date of Sir W. Harper's mayoralty the London suburbs were wooded pastures, affording ample cover for the hare and the fox, and that game in sufficient abundance was to be readily found for a good day's sport.¹

Towards the close of his mayoralty the citizens were ordered by the Queen to provide soldiers to assist her in aiding the Protestants then fighting in Normandy. The precept addressed to the Merchant Taylors Company on the 24th July, 1562, ran in these words:—

"On the Queene our most dreade Soveryne Ladyes behalf wee straightly charge and command you that ye ymmediately upon the sight hereof do ordeyn and p^spare xxxv good apte & hable men to be soldyers, whereof xxiiij to be armed wth corsletts and weaponed with Pykes or Bills, whereof xvij to be Pykes and the rest to be Archers and Harquebutlers, and thereof as many Harquebutlers as can be, and that ye have the same men always in appfecte readiness to come to the place of service of o^r said Soveigne Lady the Quene in good array ymmediately wthin iiij howres after warninge given unto you for the same. And that you do give to evy of the same souldiers upon their retayner xij *d.* for there preste money and no more. And further we charge you that upon Monday xxxijth of this p^{te} July at viij of the Clock in the forenoone of the same day at the Gealde Hall of the said Citie. Of yo^r doinge herein s^yayle ye not hereof as ye will answere for the contrary at yo^r p^rille. Geoven at the Guildehall aforesaid the xxiiijth day of July 1562.

"BLACKWELL."

No hesitation was expressed in complying with this precept, for on the 25th July, the names of thirty-five soldiers were delivered to Sir W. Harper as ready for service. The equipment is thus given:—

"Every of these [fifteen connors] furnysshed with Harque-

¹ By proclamation of 7th July, 1546, Henry VIII, was "desirous to have the games of hare, partridge, phesaunt, and heron preserved in and about his Palace of Westminster from the Palace to St. Giles-in-the-Fields, thence to Islington, to Our Lady of the Oake, to Highgate, to Hornsey Parke, to Hamstead Heath, and from thence to Westminster, for his own disport, pleasure, and recreation."—Prickett's Highgate, page 6.

busshe and Morrian, a Sworde, a Dagger, a Jerkyn of white Lether and a Cloke.

“Seventeen Pykemen, furnysshed with a corslett & Morris Pyke, a Sworde, a Dagger, & a Cloke.

“Seven Bylmen, furnysshed with a corslett, a Black Byll, a Sworde, a Dagger and a cloke.”

The men were not immediately sent on service, for on the 19th August, Sir W. Harper gave an order “to discharge the soldiers out of wage, and to place their armour, weapons, and clokes (the latter having been made by workmen supplied by members of the Company) in safe custody, and to have the men in readiness to serve the Queen upon three days’ notice.¹

This would appear to have been given on the 18th September, under which date Machyn has this entry, “my lord mare did warne all the craftes to bring in ther men in harnes to Leydynhall with pykes and gones and bowes and bylles, in bluw clokes gardyd with red, and ther to take a wue² of them tyll nyght, and they wernyd³ to muster in Morefeld the morowe after, and ther captaynes’ names master Wakham and master
 ard Brandford, and at vj captayn (*blank*)
 ther journey to Byshope-gatt, and so to Sowthwarke, [and so to Por]thmowth, and ther harnes⁴ cared in dry fastes.”⁵

Harper during his year of office lost one of his colleagues of the Merchant Taylors Company, Robert Duckyngtun, who in the previous year had been Warden. His character as the “best house-keeper” in London is thus recorded by Machyn:

“The ij day of October was bered in sant Austen’s parryche master Robartt Duckngtun marchand-tayller, and latt warden of the Marchand-tayllers’s compene; and ther wher all the masters of the compene in ther leverey, and he gayff mony gownes bowth to pore and ryche, and he was the best howse-kepar of a comm[oner] in London, and the feynest mett drest and plente.”

The last incident of Sir W. Harper’s mayoralty was accompanying his successor, Sir Thomas Lodge, to Westminster on the 29th October, 1562, “and after a goodly pagantt with goodly musyke plahyng; and to Yeld-halle to dener, for ther dynyd mony of the

¹ Memorials, page 531.

² View.

³ Were warned.

⁴ Harness.

⁵ So *MS.* for fattes (vats).

consell and all the juges and mony nobull men and women; and after dener the mare and all the althermen yede to Powlles with all musyke."

The mayoralty of Lodge would seem to mark an era in commercial progress, for Strype writes: "the number of merchants in London when Sir Thomas Lodge was Mayor were in all 327;" which he proceeds to apportion amongst the several Livery Companies, giving to the Merchant Taylors 25, and naming among them Sir Thomas White, Sir John York, Harper, Rowe, and Hilles. Probably the Merchant Taylors Company never had a larger proportion of men of established commercial character on the Court than in the Elizabethan period.

It remains for us to follow out Harper's life as it is found recorded in the proceedings of the Merchant Taylors Company. What part he took in establishing the school must be left to conjecture, but we may notice that he was present with Sir Thomas White at the meeting of the Court under Hilles' mastership, in September, 1561, when the School Statutes were sanctioned, and again at the school house during his mayoralty (in August, 1562), when the school was first visited for examination. In other respects it does not appear from later entries that he took any very active part in the management. The note¹ at the foot, of the days when he was present, show him to have been a frequent attendant at the Court, and his name also appears as a contributor of 10*l.* to the voluntary subscription for the new Exchange in 1565, but not in the list of those who subscribed to the new Lottery in August, 1568.

It is to be regretted that we have no record of the life of his first wife, Alice, who was a joint founder with him of the School at Bedford. Although favourers of the new learning, they were selected from others connected with the Company to whom no legacies were given, and were both legatees under the will of Sir Thomas White for black gowns and hats.

¹ 1561.—24th November.

1562.—1st July; 14th December; 25th January.

1563.—5th July; 28th February; 22nd March.

1564.—19th April; 22nd June; 21st July; 10th, 12th, and 15th January.

1565.—2nd July; 24th September; 10th and 11th December.

1566.—1st July; 25th September; 14th December; 18th March.

1567.—28th May; 5th June; 7th July; 23rd September; 8th December; 23rd March.

1568.—24th May; 3rd July; 2nd August; 13th December.

1569.—11th July.

Sometime before April, 1566, he and Dame Alice acquired a piece of land and erected school premises at Bedford, and by an indenture of the 22nd April, granted these premises, together with thirteen acres and one rood of meadow land lying in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, to the Mayor and Corporation of Bedford for the purpose referred to in the license of King Edward VI. The site of this meadow land has since become, and now is, a large London parish, studded with houses, yielding, when last reported upon to Parliament,² a rental of 13,227*l.* per annum.

They were both worshippers in St. Mary Woolnoth, and Dame Alice (dying in October, 1569) was buried in the church on the 15th, "and lyeth in a vault made of brick, the mouthe beinge before his pewe dore in the northe isle of this church." The last entry in the parish records relating to Harper being "for mendyng the sworde case for the Lord Mayor to set up in the church against the pewe, and for removing Sir W. Harper's sworde case."

The decease of Dame Alice appears to have been followed by a domestic rebellion in Harper's household, from which he sought relief by petition to the Court of Aldermen. William Prestwood and his wife Beatrice were inmates of his house, and to these persons Dame Alice had given, with Sir William's consent, certain goods, chattels, and jewels which were therein. Harper disputed the validity of this deed, and on the 26th January petitioned the Court of Aldermen to examine and report to the Court upon the controversy. The matter was heard at large on the 25th May, 1570, and the Court made an interim order that Aldermen Sir W. Chester and Ramsay "should have the oversight, consideration, and understanding of the good and quiet usage of Sir William by them of his house, and the good government, demeanour, and behaviour of the servants and people of his said house towards him."

Such a jurisdiction was not unfrequently exercised by the Court of Aldermen either upon the petition of the persons injured or upon the order of the Council of the Star Chamber.³

After remaining a short time a widower Harper was married to a native of Bedford, Margaret Lethers, but he never seems to have attended the Courts of the Merchant Taylors Company after this event.

Harper died on 27th February, 1573, in the 77th year of his

¹ Printed *verbatim* in Vol. 3, page 340, School Inquiry Commission.

² Vol. 12, page 449, of Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners.

³ See Appendix 13 as to Harper's case, and Remembrancia, page 210.

age, and was buried in accordance with the directions of his will in the chancel of St. Paul's Church, Bedford. There is an engraved portrait of him in Richardson's "Grainger."

By his will of the 27th October, 1573, he made his widow sole executrix, and his dear friends William Albany, Edward Thorne, and two others, overseers. He gave a legacy of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the Company to make a cup to remain to the use of the Company for a remembrance of his good will. He gave black coats and gowns to friends if present at his burial, and after several small pecuniary legacies, the residue of his property to Dame Margaret. One of the witnesses was Thomas Ramsay, the Alderman. Harper, therefore, was no benefactor to the Merchant Taylors Company.

Unfortunately for the interests of the Company, he left his widow in possession of the Company's house in Lombard Street,¹ and it may be interesting, having regard to other narratives² to give the true one of their proceedings to get possession of it.

Her character was probably well known to the Court, for their expedient was in January, 1574, to grant a lease of "the house" upon trust to Nicholas Foljambe, their Common Clerk, for two years at the old rent "for consideration of which lease is that by the travail of the said Nicholas, this Worshipful Company may recover possession thereof from Dame Margaret Harper, widow, who wilfully keepeth the same,"³ and at the same Court, at which the lease was sealed, she paid her husband's legacy of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in open Court, and made "request to have continuance in the house wherein the said Sir William did inhabit, whereunto she was answered that they could not grant her request, for that they had long ago, by the assent of the said Sir William, her late husband, promised the said house to other persons, which they could not but accordingly accomplish."

Proceedings were then initiated against her in the Lord Mayor's Court by the Common Clerk, and on the 23rd February she preferred "a supplication to this Worshipful Company, which was read and considered, and afterwards it was declared unto her by the now Master⁴ of this mystery that this house would not hear her requests until she had confessed the account which was commenced against her in the Lord Mayor's Court by the Common Clerk."

¹ As to prior correspondence regarding these premises see Part I, page 227.

² See Herbert C.C.

³ Court of 14th December, 1574.

⁴ Arthur Dawbeney.

We shall see from Fleetwood's life how every thing and person were supposed to be moved by favour, and, therefore, Lady Harper came armed with a letter from Burleigh, the Lord Treasurer, to the Court of the 21st March, the proceedings of which are thus entered:—

“The Lady Harper renewed her sute to have contynuanee in her Howse and delyvred unto the Maister in open Courte a supplica^{ti}oⁿ in that effecte, and also a Letter missyve from the Right Honorable Lorde Burleigh, High Treasurer of Englande written in her favor w^{ch} beinge well weyed and considered y^t was accorded and decreed that the said tre sent from the said Personage of Honor shulde be answered yⁿ writinge and M^r Warden Offley and M^r Warden Spencer were appoynted to delyver the saide tre unto the saide Lord Tresorer for his better contentement to be hadd of the proceedinge of this Worshipfull Companie concerninge the sute aforesaid.

“Copy of Lord Burleigh's Letter.

“After my very hartie comenda^{ti}oⁿs whereas I am informed that upon some sute made unto you by some others both unorderly agaynste the usage of the Citie and uncharitably towards a poor gentilwoman the Lady Harper a widdowe, there is some inten^{ti}oⁿ of you to remove her from her dwellinge House parcell of the possessions belonginge to yo^r Company for whiche cause she hath exhibited a peti^{ti}oⁿ unto me to be a meane unto you by my tre in her favor I colde not but in a cause so reasonable recomend her unto you to be with all good favor accordinge to yo^r lawfull custome entreated that as others in lyke case hath heretofore ben used she maye receive the lyke at your hands and because she wold be in some suretie to remayne where shee is nowe settled, her desire is to become Tenant to you by Lease for 21 Yeres offeringe thereby to give to vo^r Companie to be employed to such uses as yo^rselves shall think good the value of Penne pounds by yeare in fee simple for a ffine, w^{ch} as it seemeth to be a liberall offer and beneficiall to you in p^{er}petuitie, So I wish you to consider of ytt, as the benefitt yf ye shall doe it is to be done to the Widdowe of one of yo^r owne Companie some tyme of good accompte amonge you while he lyved, for with respecte some Curtesie is the rather to be shewed to the said Lady. And so praying you accordingly for the sondry respects above mencyned I bidd you hartily farewell. From my howse at Strande this 6th of Marche, Anno Dom. 1574.

“Yo^r lovinge Ffrende,

“W. BURGLEY.

"The Answer of the Court to L^d Burgley.

"Our duties remembered to yo^r honor may yt please your good Lordshippe to be advertized that wee have redd your Lordshippes f^res directed to us in the favor of the Lady Harper to whome wee have been always well affected and have offered to do her good in suche reasonable wise as wee mighte and soe wee mynde to continue the rather for the regarde of yo^r honors said f^res, notwithstanding wee have great cause to mislyke of the complaints which she hath made of us to dyverse Magistrats of this Citie as yt may be dowted that shee hathe done the lyke unto yo^r good Lordshippe w^{ch} moveth us humbly to desire of your honor to understande of our former proceedinge with her.

"This Companie about twenty yeres now paste graunted unto Sir William Harper and Alice then his Wife, to have theire dwellinge in the larg^{est}e and statelieste howse of this Citie duringe only theire lives: after, the whole Companie as well Sir William himself as the reste, graunted the reverc^{on} of the saide howse to such personnes as were towards Offices of Worshippe in this Citie for their dwellinge, which synce the death of Sir William (who survyved therefore saide Alice his wyffe) have claymed the benefitt of the said graunt (the which in reasone we thinke us bounde for to accomlishe) and have offered us for a Lease thereof for 21 yeres the some of four Hundred pounds to the relief of poore Brethren in Almes which these late deare yeres have multiplied into a farre greater nombre than have been tymes paste. And yet we have ffrendly suffered the saide Lady Harper to remayne one whole yere in the said House since she was a Widdowe. Albeit in the mean tyme shee hathe lett sondry p^{tes} thereof to men, wthout our consente to the greite defacynge & decaye thereof. Wherefore sithe our Endeavour is to p^oforme lawfull promise & to provyde for the poore, &c., which wee are specially bound unto. And for that the same House before this tyme hath been always ymployed upon such as did beare office for the honor of the Citie wee do most humbly beseeche yo^r honor to thinke that wee have given y^e saide Lady Harper no cause of complaynte (albeit shee doo not remayne in her said house). And thus most humbly we take ou^r Leaves of yo^r good Lordshippe. At our Court of Assistants. Yo^r good Lordshippes moste humble of Master and Wardens of the Comp^e of M^ochaunttailors, London.

"Mar. 21, 1574."

A year's grace having been given for possession to be yielded up, the Clerk was directed on the 6th May to make an entry and

hold possession, so that the house might be let from the next Midsummer Day, and on the 18th she was required to depart, and to take her goods out of the house without further delay.

These measures were of little avail, for on the 15th July, Lady Harper still being in possession came before the Court with these definite proposals:—

1st. That I may have a lease of my house for 21 years, in this consideration, that I will give to the Company 12*l.* by the year of good lands for ever presently to be assured.

“Item that I will be bound to give to the Company within one half year after my decease the sum of 100*l.*”

“Item that I will also be bound that whensoever any Mayor or Sheriff shall happen to be of the said Company that they shall have the use of the house for that year, reserving to myself some convenient rooms.

“If all these reasonable offers may not take place, then my request is that I may quietly enjoy my house until I be provided of some other neat and convenient house by your worships, or else to have of you such a sum of money as will take me a house mate for me, and as I shall be contented with as I was promised by some of your worships before I did confess the action.”

Her proposals were too unreasonable, but the Court took, as it will be seen, a generous view of her situation and made this answer. “That though there was no provision or right, yet as she was a widow and an earnest suitor, and especially because she brought letters from the Lord High Treasurer of England she shall not only be excused repairs (which 100*l.* cannot perform) and 18 months’ rent due at Midsummer last, but that also 40*l.* shall be given to her when all her goods are taken out.”

Nothing, however, came of this offer, for at the next Court of the 29th August she attended:

“And the Olde Maister asked her whether she wolde yet take the good wills of the Companye expressed in the said Graunte or not, which she the saide Lady Harper denyed to doe ffor that she saide it was not suffyciente to p^ovide her a House. Whereupon the said Olde Maister willed her to receyve her Goods oute of the House into her owne custodie and then afterwards yf she wolde she might preferre her suit, for until that tyme this Company said he is determyned to deal no further nor otherwise in that matter. Also the said Lady Harper was well putt in mynde of her untrue and slanderous speache not only agaynst dyvers p^oticular p^osons of this Wor^d Companye, but also agaynst the whole Companye,

& ffrendly admonyshed her to use herself as became her calling, &c."

While this controversy was going on the plague was raging in London. The Common Clerk, Nicholas Foljambe, and his wife, were both visited with it and died, the Master elect (Edward Joans) had left the city, and consequently the meeting of the Livery at Quarter Day had been postponed. Still the Lord Mayor, Sir James Hawes, the Clothworker, was at his post, and the Court on the 10th September "agreed that a sute shalbe made by the Maister & Wardens unto the Lord Mayor & his Brethren that his Lordshipp wolde vouchsafe to take order betwene the Companye & the Lady Harper and her man for the delyveringe and removing of her and her Goods remayning in our greate Howse in Lombard Streete."

The Lord Mayor's award was that 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* should be given to Lady Harper, and accordingly on the 29th March, this sum was taken out of the Treasury as this minute shows :

"It ys agreed and decreed that the some of lxxvj*l.* xiijs. iiij*d.* shal be taken out of the Treasory to paye unto the Lady Harper accordinge to the agremente made by Sir James Hawes, Knighte, Lord Mayor of London w^{ch} some was taken oute the nexte daye in the p^sence of the wor^{ll} M^r Edwarde Joanes, M^r Rich^{de} Hilles and Rob^t Dowe Warden & delivered unto the said M^r Joanes accordingle."

On 5th December the house was let to Richard Offley at 13*l.* 6*s.* as an annual rent, and a fine of 400*l.* paid to the Company.

Harper's charity for a long period was so serious an evil to the town which the donor intended to benefit, that the objects of it challenge some special mention.

The exact words of the donation were, 1st, "for the sustentation of the Master and Ushers of the School, (2nd), for marrying poor maidens of the said town, and (3rd), for nourishing and educating poor boys of that place, and, also (4th), for distributing alms of the remainder or surplus of the premises accruing, and remaining to the poor of the aforesaid town."

During the 120 years prior to 1873, the trustees of the charity needed the assistance of Parliament¹ to institute new schemes, but these proved to be wholly ineffectual. In 1833,

¹ 4 Geo. III, cap. 17, 33 Geo. III, cap. 127, 7 Geo. IV, cap. 29, and Chancery Scheme, 1853.

a Bedford clergyman assured the Poor Law Authorities of the bad effect of the Charity on the minds of the working classes, that contractors for public works dare not employ them because of their idleness; for an almshouse would be provided if they came to poverty, and therefore they were not provident, but extravagant, in their way of living.

As a measure of reform the doles, found to be so positively injurious, were abolished by the townspeople themselves, but this was not enough. "The charity," wrote a competent authority in June, 1866,¹ "colours and determines the whole life of many in Bedford. It bribes the father to marry for the sake of his wife's small marriage portion; it takes the child from infancy, and educates him in a set form: settles the course of his life by an apprentice fee: pauperises him by doles, and takes away the chief object of industry by the prospect of an almshouse."² Unfortunately, these evils are not limited to *townsmen*, but must extend to the wider area of London if charitable funds are to be given away by Guilds under the same conditions.

The townsmen, in many instances, as at Bedford, have been wise enough to have these evils removed, and their charitable endowments made useful according to the existing wants of the beneficiaries under the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Act, 1853, and the Endowed Schools Act, 1869.

Taking the Bedford scheme of the 19th June, 1873,³ as an illustration the main provisions of it for the future distribution of Sir W. and Dame Alice's Charity, are these:

A Governing Board of nominated and elected men, whose status is beyond impeachment, is constituted to administer the funds "partly to maintain poor, aged, or infirm persons in Bedford, and principally to provide education for boys and girls." The fund distributable is divided into eleven parts, or shares, which are thus appropriated:—

One eleventh share for the Almshouses in Dame Alice Street for poor aged or infirm persons in the town of Bedford, or providing for the like objects.

Two elevenths for an elementary school under the Act of 1870, for boys or girls resident in the borough of Bedford, and by

¹ Vol. VIII, page 697, Sch. In. Com.

² See further, Vol. I, page 529, and III, page 339.

³ There are these four dates on the printed Schemes, 30th May, 1871, as the date of publication of Commissioners approval, 28th March, 1873, of the Privy Council approval, 12th April, 1873, and of issue 19th June, 1873.

establishing exhibitions to prolong the education of meritorious scholars, or to carry them to a higher place of education.

Four elevenths for two second grade (modern) schools for boys and girls, apportioning the endowment in proportion to the average number of the scholars, three boys as earning the same amount as five girls. Exhibitions are established for each school to be won by competition, and to be tenable at any University or place of education to be approved by the Governors, and in addition to any such exhibition, the Governor's may grant a boy an exhibition in the Grammar School, and a girl the same in the High School. The limit of age to all scholars is from 7 to 17.

The remaining four elevenths are appropriated for a grammar and high schools, to be apportioned as the last preceding four elevenths were to be. Exhibitions are established in these schools to be won by competition. The limit of age on admission for boys is 8, and for girls as the Governors fix, and for leaving, 19 years.

The doles, the fees on apprenticeship and gifts on marriage are swept away, and the almshouses and pensions are limited to aged and infirm persons being poor. It would be well for the interests of the body politic if the several guilds would deal with their various charities for the same object in some method equally beneficial to their fellow citizens, and such a measure would vastly increase the respect which is still associated with their *past* usefulness.¹

¹ This has been done by the Goldsmith's Company.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PAGEANT¹ ON SIR W. HARPER'S MAYORALTY
IN 1561.

THE pageant of the Company given in honour of the Lord Mayor was more an affair for the Batchelor² than for the Merchant Company, for they (as we here see) raised the greater part of the money, and had the benefit of the expenditure amongst their own members. Of Offley's and Harper's pageants there are some rough entries, and taking those of the latter as the basis of the text, we have added notes from Offley's pageant, so that the substance of both is given.

These pageants are interesting as two of the earliest that have yet been printed. Sir W. Draper's in 1566-7 being noted by Fairholt as the first detailed account of a Lord Mayor's show then extant.

The account of Harper's pageant commences thus:—"Tempore Willi Harper in officio maioratus electi civitatis London. Le iiij^o die Octobris, A^o 1561;" and proceeds by constituting "surveyors with the master and wardens as well for the devisyng and orderynge of all suche busynes as shall conserne the bachelers companey, and also to cesse all such persons of the saide companey of bachelers as shalbe by their thoughte mete to be contributories to the beryng of the charges conseryng the same," ten persons being named "togiders with the old wardens substitutes."

As a part of the day's proceedings was to be a procession of barges on the Thames to Westminster, the Company hired or engaged a brigantine or "foyste" for the day. The entry runs thus:

"It is agreed and concludid with Thomas Ewen and Nicholas Hollonby that they shall provide a foyste of xvij or xx tonne to be fornysshed with xvj peces of ordenaunces called bassys, and to have the same trymmyd and payntyd in all thynges mete to serve

¹ On Lord Mayor's Pageants, see Fairholt (Percy Society), Part I (1843); Part II (1844). The Civic Garland (1845).

² Part I, Chapter 3.

upon the Jamys¹ the morrowe after Symon and Jude next and they to Fynde all thynges thereunto belongyng as viz. : maryners, gon-powdre, drome, fluyte and suche like, and to shoot of all the said peeces of ordenaunces the said daye vj tymes. And the same foyste to be trymed and fornysshed as well or better in all thynges as hath bene done at any tyme heretofore at suche like tyme. And the said Thomas Ewen and Nicolas Hollond to have and resceyve of this house for the fornyshyng of the premisses xv li. x s. and one frocke of satten of brydges and a cappe of blewe clothe."

The "foyste" was an addition to the barges of the several Companies which accompanied the Lord Mayor. In Sir Thomas Offley's pageant the foyste was to be "well appointed with ordnance and shot," but the conductors of the pageant did not venture to let off the guns themselves, but paid "Stephen Bull and his company of gunners in the Tower for their attendance and advice concerning the gun shot upon lande," and for discharging it "twice over against Paules Wharf and twice over against Westminster Bridge."²

But the greatest attraction of the day was the "pageant" which was to be carried through the streets and then placed in the Company's Hall.

In Offley's mayoralty the directions given were "to see that the same men be fornysshed with children that shall then syng and playe upon instrumentes. And for apparelyng of them accordyngly, as by thadvice of my lord maiour electe shalbe thoughte meate. And to devise other conceytes as Woodwardes³ and other pastymes to be had with men castyng of Squybes of fyre afore the Bachelers."

In Harper's pageant the first contract was for the carriage of it:—

"Evan Davys portar agreed. That he shall and will provide to fynde with hym self xvj tall and stronge men [to] beare the

¹ The Thames.

² This term must not be accepted for a "bridge" as we now understand it. A pier is shewn in Aggas' plan of 1578, as the Queen's "*Bridge*," and in Norden's of 1593, as the "King's"; each standing opposite to the Palace at Westminster. The Horseferry was the only passage over the river until a stone bridge, as we now understand the term, was erected (by money raised in part by lottery) across the river. The first stone was laid by the Earl of Pembroke on January 29th, 1738-9, and the last stone in March, 1747,—“a very short period (writes Dodsley in 1751) considering the vastness of the undertaking.”

³ Sometimes styled Woodmen or Wodemen, but the meaning is wild or savage men. Sometimes styled green men, who usually appeared in processions carrying clubs and hurling squibs.—Fairholt's *Lord Mayor's Pageants*. page 16.

pageant upon the morrowe after Symond and Jude next and to see the same pageant broughte saffelye into this house that present daye at nighte. And he to have for every of the said xvj men or portars xx *d.*"

A procession followed it and therefore "targettes" had to be contracted for, and artists hired to paint various "armes" thereon. These targettes were borne by the poor of the Company who must appear in goodly costume, and therefore "5 dozen & 3 cappes of woollen clothe, good & large of the colour of blue with bandes" had to be provided.

Streamers and banners were also needed, and these were to be "wroughte with golde and sylver, and other collers according to the pattern of the streamers made when Sir Thomas Offley¹ was Lord Mayor and to be well and workmanly wroughte as the same streamers were in and by all thynges or rather better."

A band of music must precede the Bachelor's Company, and therefore it was "aggreed and concludid with Roberte Dromstate John Vellam, flagberer, and Nicolas Okas, flute player. That they shall play afore the Companey of Bachelers the morrowe after Simond and Jude next and to trym and apparell them selves with rede and blewe silke accordyngly. And for suche servys by them to be done. They to have of this house iiij li. over and above a flag to be lent to them by this hous."

The costume or apparel of the Bachelor's Company which is wanting in Harper's is given in Offley's pageant, thus:

"Those persons which shalbe appoynted to be Bachelors shall provide them selves of gownes of the color of puke or browne blewe and to be furred according as they shall be by them appoynted. And the same gownes to be ²weltd with velvet³ and there jackyttes cassockes and doublettes to be ⁴either of satten damaske, taffataye, colour blacke,⁵ and of no other colour or colors,

¹ This is the description of Offley's banners: -

"ij longe streamers, either of them to conteigne in length vj yerdes longe and to be a yerd and di brode at upperhende of either of the said streamers. And the same to be of double sercenet, rede, good, and stronge. And the same streamers to be wroughte with golde and sylver on all thynges accordyng to the patern of the old streamers remaynyng on this house, and the same to have a wrethe of sylver with a brode frynge accordyng to patern of a newe stremer late made by the mystere of mercers."

"A baner with the Image of St. John on it of rede sylk, and the same to be wroughte with fyne gold and sylver accordyng to the patern of our old baner in all thynges. And the same to be of length ij yardes and a q^r and of bredthe a yerd and iiij q^{rs} with a wrethe of sylver and the frynge to be brode."

²⁻³ In place of without garde or welte.

⁴⁻⁵ In place of sylke of the colors either of blacke, tawny, or russet.

and there hose to be blacke and the ruffes and colors of the skirtes not to have eny gold or sylver in or upon them in eny wise whiche they or eny of them shall weare when they shall go afore the mayour upon the forfeitures of lyke penalties as was ordeygned for suche offenders doying the contrary in the tyme of the righte worshipfull Sir Harry Hobthron (1546-7) then beyng lord maiour electe of this citie, for doying the contrary. And the nombre of the said bachelers is also appoynted to be lxxvij or there aboutes.”¹

We now come to the pageant for Harper.

“John Shutte shall make for this Company ageynst the feaste of Symond and Jude next, a pageant accordyng to suche a pattern (for drawing which Gabitt received 5s.) as shalbe devised to answer the speches also here devised and delyvered to hym and also he to fynde ij men to be woodwardes to cast squybes or wilde-fyer² the morrowe after the seid feaste of Symond and Jude next and also to fynde the said wilde-fyer. And he to have of this house for the fynyshyng and makyng of the seid pageant and fynding the seid woodhousys xij *li*.”

The procession would need light therefore “it is agreed that Cressy Nannyng and Pavyour wexchandelers shall provide eche of them ij doosen staff torches and they to have xiiij s. for every doosen.”

The most startling event of the day was to be the “gun shot upon land” for this they “agreed and concludid with Mathewe Sharpe cloth worker That in consideracion That he shall provide for to be shott of cc of chambers the morrowe after Symond and Jude next when the mayour goyth and comyth frome Westininster whereof lx chambers to be shott of twice at Stonegate and xl residue also to be twyce shott of in the yarde or wharfe of Thomas Gwyn waterman whereof xv of the said c chambers shalbe so greate as that every of the said xv chambers shall requyre v *li* of

¹ The same description is found in Rowe's Pageant of 1568. They were to have hoods also, which are thus described:—“Every one that is appointed to be a Bachelour shall have a whoodde of cloth, colour scarlott, and of no other colour. And suche of them as have not presentely whooddes of there owne to be appointed to have whooddes here delivered unto them by the sayde surveyours, which they shall cause to be made accordingly, and they to paye for every of the same whooddes that they shall provide for them, as by the saide master and wardens and surveyours shalbe adjudged. And every one that have whooddes of there owne to be brought hyther. And upon the viewinge thereof to be allowed or dysallowed by the saide surveyours accordynglye.”

² See Fairholt's Pageants (1844), page 14.

gonpowdre to charge the same the said chambers gon powdre and all charges conseryng the same shott as afforesaid x li."

As there is no entry of any payment to the gunners from the Tower for this gun shot, we may presume that the art of gunnery had made some progress since the last pageant. Gunners were originally civilians appointed for life to a particular fort, those of the Tower living in houses or lodgings adjacent thereto. The master gunners so recently as January, 1783, were classed as part of the civilian branch of the Ordnance Department. In Elizabeth's reign (1586) the Merchant Taylors (and probably the other great Companies) had to provide and lay in stores of gunpowder upon their Hall premises for any necessity that might arise for its use.

The arms which were to appear on the targets¹ were these:—

"Firste, in one of the grete targittes the qwens arms.

"Item in the ij^de grete targit the rede crosse of England.

"Item in the iij^d gret targitt the cities armes.

"Item in the iiijth gret targittes the arms of this companey

"Item of my lord maiour electe armes, vj.

"Item of Sir John Percyvall, vj.

"Item of Sir Stephen Jenyns, vj.

"Item of Sir Harry Hobthorn, vj.

"Item of Sir Thomas White, vj.

"Item of Sir Thomas Offley, vj.

"Item of the Armes of the Companey, xij.

"Item of the holly lambe, vj."

Next came the trumpeters and it was "agreed with Sergeant Trompeter that he shall provide to serve the morrowe after Symond and Jude next xxiiij trompeters, they fyndyng them selves skarlett cappys accordyngly as hath bene accustomyd. And they to have for there servys to be done here that daye xvij li and iiij doosen of silke poyntes."

A long list follows of the names of Bachelors "in Foynes" and "in Budge," then of poor men who were to have gowns and pairs of shoes given to them nine such being "for my Lord Mayor electe"; five for our Master, viz., Richard Hilles; and two each for Rigeley, Pope, Albany, and Hulson (the four Wardens), and "were appointed to serve in the meates to the Lordes, Ladyes, and gentlewomen before the Lord Mayor comes from Westminster," and others "to attend upon the pageant to see that it be not borne

¹ These appear to have been painted for Sir Thomas Offley's pageant.

against penthouses and to attend upon the children and their apparell and to see it be safely sett up within the hall accordyngly."

The pageant could not be safely brought to the Hall unless the bearers of it were protected from the pressure of an eager crowd of spectators, therefore other members of the Bachelors Company (whose names are preserved, including John Stow,¹ the historian) were "appoynted to be wyfeler and to see the poore men go in order and to kepe away the people for disturbing of them."

The pageant had reference to the Lord Mayor's name,² and the only description of it is this:—

"On the toppe as a fane the Armes of the lord mayour electe on the one side thereof, and the armes of the merchaunt taillours on the other side thereof.

"Under in the myddest David with his story aboute him.

"On the right side Orpheus with his story before.

"On the lefte Amphion with his story.

"On the lefte side on the ende Arion, etc.

"On the right side of thende Iopas, with his etc.

"Orpheus playeng upon his harpe, and trees, rivers, mountaynes as daunsinge and harkeninge.

"Amphion so, with a Citie and the wall a buyldinge, and the stones as voluntary Ronninge to it.

"Arion syttinge on a dolphin in the sea playeng on the harpe.

"Iopas so, before a table of princes and every of theis to have his posie.

"In all places of the pageant to have paynted the verses of 150th psalme."³

In Rowe's pageant these precepts "if thought good" were to be written about it: "Fear God, be wise, be true, accept no bribes."

These were the speeches for Harper's pageant:

"David saith.

"The heavie hand of god, to mercie wilt thou turne,
And mollifie man's harte, when it with rage doth burne ;

¹ Stow also served as a Wyfeler in Rowe's Pageant. The word is said to be derived from "whiffle," a fife, or small flute, used in processions, and hence the name was applied to persons leading the procession.

² The name appears occasionally on the Merchant Taylors Company's records without the final e.

³ That grand jubilant Psalm "*Laudate Dominum.*"

Then fall to psalme and harpe, for so I, David, wanne
The favour bothe of god, and Saule that furious man.

" Orpheus.

"Yf Ryvers that coulde speake which they did ofte tymes
heare

When they to Orpheus harpe, did give attentyve eare,
Then shuld you understand how greate a joy it weare
Our harper in this towne, the sworde of power to beare.

" Amphion

"What harte can harpe withstand, to whom the stones relent,
For while Amphion plaide, upon this Instrument,
They as unto the harpe, bound and obedient
To buylde the walles of Thebes without man's handlyng
went.

" Arion.

"The harpe then pierceth heaven, the harpe the earth can
move,

And that it Ruleth the sea, Arion can well prove,
Whome on her back by sca, a Dolphin safe did save,
And therefore did no hier but songes on his harpe crave.

" Iopas.

"When wisdom reigned most, and vertue ruled all,
Then learninge, conninge, wilt, in every prince's hall
Were uttered at the harpe, for the Trojan knight
Iopas did delight, with sounde of harpe all night.

" David.

"And yet we harper's all
No rigorousenes did use,
But God the gentill sound
Of harpe did not refuse.
The calme and quiete note
The violent Saule did stay
His rage and boylinge brest
My milde harpe did delay.

" Orpheus.

"The stones no force did feele
The streames no sturdie heape,
The Dolphin feared no bitt,
Nor for no spurre did leape.

“Amphion.

“The princes and the Auncient men
 Did thinck the harpe most meete
 To open them ther highe affaires
 When they did sitt at meate.

“David.

“For why your gentle harper may
 With myldenes bringe aboute
 As moche touchinge good governement
 As they that be right stoute
 Wherefore rejoyce, ye londoners
 And hope well of your mayre,
 For never did a mylder man
 Sitt in your chiefest chaire.”

Who wrote the speeches or composed the music is not disclosed, and a few other items of expenditure will complete the description of Harper's pageant as it is preserved upon our records:

“Item paid to John Scryven for him self and the reste of the waytes of the Citie his fellowes for playing the morrowe after Symond and Jude Daye next, and at other accustomed tymes when the Maiour shall go the Polles, and for and in allowans of there cappes, xl s.”

“Item paid for a crowne for Davyd, and trymyng of the regalles, and hyer of Mr. Shobman to attend upon the pageant xij s. vj d.”

“Item to John Tayllour,¹ master of the children of the late monastere of Westminster, for his children that sung and playd in the pageant xxx s.”²

“Item paid to portars for setting uppe the pageant in the hall upon the frame in the gallery, ij s. iiij d.”

“Item paid to Mr. More for the hyer of v harps and his child playing in the pegeant, xxj s.”

¹ Dr. Troutbeck writes to me, “Of Tayllour I know nothing—he certainly has no name as a composer.” He was employed in Drapers' Pageant (Fairholt, page 16). In the parish accounts of St. Mary Woolnoth, is an entry: “1557, September 8th, Paid to Tailour, the Clerk, Master of the syngyne children of the Hospital for him and his children, 16d.”

² In Offley's Pageant “Mr. Leere, the schoolmaster of St. Anthony's, received 10s. for the children which played at the Pageant.” This curious item is added, “Paid for Rose water spent and occupied aboute the childrer and hym that rode upon the camyll, iijs. ij d.,” so that a “camel” was part of the Pageant, and “rose water” was then in use.

"Item paid for the hyer of mongy hous xx s."

"Item to John Holt, momer in Reward for attendans given of the children in the pageant x s."

"Item to Christopher Iles, for goyng to the towre for the Javelyns, and cãredge home ageyn, xij d."

"Item paid for ij pillars that halst uppe the pageant that is tyed uppe to the rafters of the hall, and there to remayne for the same purpose, xvj d."

"Item to Browne, of the chamber, for hangyng of the hall and chambers ageynst the Mayors' feaste and for hyer thereof, viij s. iij d."

"Item to the clerk of the mercery for the delyvery of certen clothes of arras and quryshyns that was lent by the mercers for that purpose, xij d."

CHAPTER XIX.

WILLIAM FLEETWOOD, "THE HONEST RECORDER,"¹
FREEMAN 1557 TO 1594.

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THIS life invites our attention, not as that of a great lawyer, though he had a reputation for learning,² nor as a great statesman, but as a guildsman of the Merchant Taylors Company, who, in the middle rank of life, did his duty honestly and faithfully to his fellow citizens, as Recorder of London, for the Corporation have rarely had a man of higher character or greater zeal for their service than William Fleetwood, who was the Recorder during the period intervening from 1571 to 1591—twenty years of eventful civic history in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

He is said to have been the natural son of Robert Fleetwood,

¹ See an article, "Fleetwood," by Walter Clode, in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

² Part I, page 257, note 2.

of the old Lancastrian family, his grandfather having been in the service of the Earls of Derby, but as he came to the Merchant Taylors Company on the 21st June, 1557, as a freeman by "patrimony" from Robert Fleetwood, this would seem to displace this baseness of birth.

That this freeman was trained as a lawyer and not as a merchant offers another illustration of the fact that at the date of his admission to the Company its membership was not limited to the craft or business of tailoring, but any pursuit might be followed with the privileges of a freeman.

Fleetwood is said to have been educated at Oxford, and to have left the University without a degree, Brazenose or Broadgate Hall being his college. He passed on to the Middle Temple and was called to the Bar there, but no entries of his admission or call have been preserved.

We have already shown¹ how after the accession of Elizabeth Visitation Commissions were issued usually to the Lords Lieutenant and to other persons of position in the several dioceses with men qualified as professors of the civil and common law to secure the allegiance of the clergy and uniformity in public worship. Fleetwood must soon have attracted the attention of Elizabeth's Ministers, for in July, 1559, he was appointed a Commissioner with the Mayor of Northampton, the Duke of Rutland, Sir W. Cecil, and others for the visitation of Oxford, Lincoln, and three other dioceses.

In 1563 he had made sufficient advancement in his profession to be chosen as the Summer Reader of the Middle Temple. The Readers were selected from the "Utter Barristers," and the "Serjeants" from the Readers. Beginning on the Monday after Lammas Day the reading continued three weeks and three days, and while it lasted the Reader was "expected to keep a constant and splendid table, feasting nobility, judges, bishops, the principal officers of state, and sometimes even the King himself," so that a reader has been known to spend 1,000*l.* during his office.²

To meet these expenses, "as he was of a marvellous, merry, and pleasant conceit," and no doubt popular with the Court of Assistants, they passed this resolution:—"Item, Whereas Maister Wm. Flete-wood, a lovyng brother of this misterie, is at this presente chosen to be reader for the Mydle temple for the yere to come. It is

¹ Page 154, *ante*.

² Herbert, *Inns of Court*, page 179.

therefore agreed and decreed by the maister, wardens, and assistants that there shalbe given to hym towards the charge of his readynge dynr by hym to be made at the tyme of his said Readynge, a hoggysshed of wyne. And the same to be presented to him in the name of this house accordingly." Soon after the Company aided him in his profession, as in June, 1564, they appointed him Steward of the Rushocke Manor, held by them under Jenyns' trust for the Wolverhampton School.

The date of his marriage is not known; but his wife was Marian, the daughter of John Barley, of Kingsey, Bucks, and they had six sons and two daughters. His residence in his early life being Bacon House, Foster Lane, and at his death Noble Street, Aldersgate.

It has not been found whether he ever came on the Livery or was called to the Court of Assistants; but he was probably summoned, after his election as Recorder,¹ in respect to his official position, to assist the Court of the Merchant Taylors in their deliberations; but he never served either as Warden or Master.

In the controversy with the Clothworkers² he rendered the Company essential service. On the minutes of the 7th November, 1566, he is entered not as being on the Court, but as a "learned Counsell taking instructions direct from the Court touching the defence against the suit made by the Clothworkers," and at their next meeting, 23rd November, he attended and "read openly before the Master, Wardens, and Assistants, the answer which he had then already devysed for the Master and Wardens in the name of the whole Company (to make and give to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen for the answering of the devyse late made by the said Mayor and Court of Aldermen concerning this Company and the Company of the Clothworkers if they shall like thereof), which said devyse" is set out in four and a half pages of writing, and the entry concludes in these words:—"The which answer so being read as aforesaid was of all the foresaid assistants well lyked, and thereupon agreed that it be presented as their full and absolute answer."

In the year 1568, on the occasion of Sir Thomas Rowe's installation as Lord Mayor he appears as a guildsman. The

¹ At the Court of 15th May, 1571, he is entered after the Aldermen, but before the Past Masters. In May, 1572, the annual fee of 4*l.* was voted to him (page 212, ante) until Midsummer, 1593.

² Part I, page 203.

arrangements of the Company for this feast are set out in our records with some particularity, and were as follows¹:—

Four of the more experienced men (including Richard Hilles) were associated with the Master and Wardens to give their attendance at Sir Thomas Rowe's house, to aid him, when required, by "their best advyce and counsell concerning the ordering and trimmings of his house, also for viewing and seeing the old presidents for and concerning such provision as shall seem necessary for the keeping up his feaste." Other members of less importance were appointed "to give their attendance at the Guildhall two or three days before the feast, to be in such rooms and places as may be appointed, to see that the hall and chambers were decently hung and the tables and stools properly set."

Then six members were appointed surveyors of the kitchen, to see "that the provision and porcion of victualls be both good and wholesome," three members (one being a future Lord Mayor) "as surveyors at the dresser at the stayerhedd entering into the Mayor's Court; and four members each at the dresser in the hall."

Upon the great day of the morrow of "St. Symonde and Jude," four Past-Masters (Hilles being one) and four other members were to attend at the Guildhall "as well to welcome the guests that shall come to the feast, as also to see that the worshipful company that shall dine there may be well served every one of them in their order," and to insure this good service "Sixteen Men of the Bachelor's Company were to give their attendance, and to help to carry in the service of meate to the ladies and gentilwomen and other estate that shall be sett and be served before the Mayor shall come from Westminster."

Then came the dinner and the enumeration of those members of the Company who were to partake of it. Hitherto no mention is to be found of Fleetwood on the proceedings, but he is one of the twenty-five persons (Hilles not being one) who were appointed to dine at the Guildhall at the table appointed for the Mayor's company, so we may conjecture that he stood well in the estimation of the Lord Mayor and of his colleagues in the Company.

Upon the morrow after St. Symonde and Jude, eight Past-masters (Hilles being one), and eight other members of the Company were appointed to give their attendance upon the Lord Mayor, "when he shall go to the Guildhall to take his othe," and thus the Lord Mayor's installation was completed.

¹ Memo., page 112.

The time had arrived for other duties to be imposed upon Fleetwood. In April, 1571, he was appointed a Commissioner to enquire into "the customs," and was then placed in official communication with Lord Burghley, and other members of Elizabeth's Council. In the same year the highest preferment of his life, the Recordership was conferred upon him by his fellow citizens.

We have previously given an account of the qualifications of the candidate,¹ and the duties of the elected Recorder. It was an office then held in high repute, and a stepping stone in some cases to higher legal preferment. Bromley, so familiar to the reader, was Recorder in 1566 and Lord Chancellor in 1579, and Sir E. Coke was Fleetwood's successor.

At about the same period a change arose in the parliamentary representation, when Sir John White (Harper's colleague in 1556) and Thomas Wilbraham (the late Recorder) retired, and were succeeded by Sir Rowland Heywood and Fleetwood, the latter sitting for the city until his death.

In the early days of Elizabeth's reign the traces of parliamentary procedure are faint, and the speeches of members are only to be gleaned from the diaries of those members who happened to be present at and to keep a record of the debates. In these, during the session after his election Fleetwood appears to have taken an active part.

The attention of Parliament was mainly directed to the adoption of measures to ward off the consequences of the Bishop of Rome's recent sentence of excommunication against Elizabeth. It will be remembered that the northern rising of the two Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland² in 1569 was preceded by a proclamation, setting forth that they had taken up arms against the counsellors of Elizabeth, "who by the space of twelve years had set up and maintained a new formed religion and heresy, contrary to God's word," which was followed up in 1570 (25th April) by a Bull or sentence declaratory, put forth by Pius V, against Elizabeth, Queen of England, and the heretics adhering to her, depriving her of the Crown,³ and absolving her subjects from their allegiance. The accusations against her on which this sentence was based were (*inter alia*) deposing lawful and instituting schismatic bishops, supporting a new worship, receiving the

¹ Part I, pages 30-1.

² Page 205, *ante*.

³ 6 Lingard's England, page 222.

sacrament after the manner of heretics, choosing known heretics for the Lords of her Council, and imposing an oath derogatory to the rights of the Holy See.

Until these events the Roman Catholics, lay and clerical,¹ had conformed to the worship of the Anglican Church, but this Bull, directed against the regal authority of Elizabeth and the constitution of Church and State as then established by the English people, made such attendance in effect heretical, and placed them in the dilemma of offending against the Court of Rome, or the law of England, as laid down by the 1 Elizabeth, cap. 4.

Measures of protection against this Papal aggression were framed by the Ministers of Elizabeth, and of these three were passed by Parliament. Two acts made it high treason :—1st. To hold or affirm by speech or print that Elizabeth was not Queen, or was a heretic, schismatic, infidel, or usurper; and 2ndly. To use or put in use any Bull of the Bishop of Rome or his successors.² The third act was directed against those of the northern rebellion who had fled beyond the seas, and whose estates were rendered liable to confiscation if they did not return home within a limited time.

A fourth measure, introduced by Sir Thomas Smith for the enforcement of uniformity in public worship and the reception of the sacraments, was not carried through Parliament.

To advert now to the part which Fleetwood took in the debates.

Upon what were termed "the Treason Bills," Fleetwood gave the House the benefit of his learning, he "endeavoured to prove the overcharging of the bill with larger words than were convenient, and more provisoes than were to the purpose, to have been the overthrow of that which was truly meant; wherein the cunning adversary, when he knoweth not how to subvert directly, will by this means easily and subtilly insert more, pretending a face of more forwardness than the rest, when indeed his heart is bent to the hindrance of the whole. For proof and experience hereof, he remembered the cunning prelates in Hen. IV, and afterwards in Edw. IV's time, when Edw. required the Suppressing of all such Abbies as Hen. VI, had erected. To hinder this, contrary to the king's meaning, some would needs add the colleges in Cambridge, which by him were also founded; to which, when by no means the house could be induced as well the intent of the first, as of the last

¹ Strype's Grindal, page 98.

² Chapters 1 and 2 of 13 Elizabeth, vol. 4, page 528, Statutes Realm.

was subverted.—The like he remembered also of the 2d year of Hen. VII, in matter of Treason, which all men would have yielded unto: the counterfeit friend heaped in, to give the king free liberty of restitution to whom he would, of all, both goods and possessions, whereof the inconveniency being seen, stay was made of the whole. So that, what men may not do directly, with face of further friendship they do covertly.”

Sir Thomas Smith on introducing his measure threw out in the debate that he should have preferred that the Bishops or Convocation should have dealt with the subject rather than that Parliament should interfere, and pointed out that the Bill as framed was to be brought into operation by informers receiving the penalties given by it on the conviction of offenders; but Fleetwood concurred in neither of these views. His argument on the first point was that the matter “of going to the church, or for the service of God, did directly appertain to Parliament; and that we all have as well learned this lesson, that there is a God, who is to be served, as to have the Bishops. And thereupon he undertook to prove by the old laws, vouched from king Edgar, that the princes, in their parliaments have made ecclesiastical constitutions: as these, That if any servant shall work upon the sabbath-day, by the commandment of his master, he should be free; if of himself, he should be whipped; if a freemen should work, he should be bound, or grievously amerced.”

On the second point he was clear and decisive, moving “that the penalty of that statute should not go to promoters.” It was a device but of late brought in, in the time of Henry VIII, the first year of his reign, and shewed the evils and inconvenience that did grow by these men’s doings; wherein no reformation was sought, but private gain to the most of men.” But the Bill, as we have said, did not become law.¹

Another Bill was submitted to Parliament “against licenses and dispensations granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury” (which may be the sections found in the 13 Elizabeth, cap. 12), upon which Fleetwood’s speech was short and to the purpose, “shewing that livings are given to ministers for the instructing the king and his people, and for the keeping of house² and other

¹ Strype’s Annals, Vol. 2, pages 1 and 72.

² The non-residence of the Clergy in the 14th century was strongly objected to by the Commons, who urged the King, “that all persons advanced to the benefices of Holy Church should remain on their benefices in order to keep hospitality there.”—Rolls of Parl., Vol. 3, page 501 (A.D.), 1402, cited in “English Wayfaring Life” (1889), page 122.

deeds of charity. All which, if they were absent by dispensation, he inferred must of necessity be neglected."

The last subject was a commercial one, the limitation of the rate of interest. At that date the legislation of Henry VIII (37 Henry VIII, cap. 9) limiting the rate to 10*l.* per cent. had been repealed by the 5 and 6 Edward VI, cap. 20, and the Bill now under consideration was to revive the Act of Henry VIII, and to declare usury to be sinful. Of course, according to our present law (17 and 18 Vic., cap. 90), a man may take for money what he can get, but his was not the view which prevailed in earlier days.

"What usury was," Fleetwood said, "he was not to learn: call it, if we list, *proxima homicidio*, or how else by a description he forced not much; for if there were not civil law, it were not much to be accounted of for any certainty in this case thereby to be had; and the most ancient laws of this realm have taught us thereof somewhat; as the laws of . . . do make to us mention of usury. So do the laws made in Lucius's time and those of Athelred; whereby it was ordained, that witches and usurers should be banished. King Edward, the saint, referreth and appointeth the offenders herein to suffer *ordalium*. Then was there a great kind of usury known, which was called *torus*, and a lesser known by the name of . . . Glanville, in the book *de legibus antiquis*, maketh mention of an inquiry of Christian usurers. In the tower, he said, he had seen a commission awarded to the master of the courts (he named not what courts) to enquire of usurers, and the punishment of them, he said, was whipping; he said further, by scripture, he knew it was damnable; and, therefore, whether it was good or not good, it was no good question. For the matter of implication, whether by the pretence of the law it might be intended that it was in any sort allowed; he said it might be construed and compared there with the Statute of Tithes; where it is said, 'that till for 7 years after Heath-ground be broken up no tithe shall be paid;' the construction hereupon is clear. He shewed also, that usury was *malum in se*, for that of some other transgressions, her maj. may dispense afore with; but for usury, or to grant that usury may be used, she possible cannot."

Two other incidents of the session remain to be mentioned. A Bill for the reformation of the Book of Common Prayer was prepared and brought in by Mr. Strickland, a private member of the House. There appears to have been nothing objectionable in his speech, but the subject was deemed to be one solely for the Crown to deal with. Strickland was therefore summoned before

the Council and suspended, not by the Speaker or the House, but by the Queen, from further attendance in Parliament. A question of privilege was raised,¹ but the advice of "Fleetwood, a wise man," as he is reported to have been, prevailed, viz., "that they should be humble suitors to the Queen and neither send for nor demand of right Strickland, who was soon released from the interdict, without a direct conflict with the Crown."

Queen Mary of Scotland was then the cause of great anxiety to the government of Elizabeth, and the House of Lords desired the Commons to appoint a Committee of their House to meet them in conference "for the more speedy and better direction of them in the great matter touching the Queen of Scots." Of this Committee Fleetwood was a member, but nothing came of this conference except the passing of a Bill which Elizabeth refused to assent to. In July, we find Fleetwood acting in the same matter as a Commissioner with Sir Thomas Smith to take the examination of persons charged with a plot for the liberation of Queen Mary,² and in October Salisbury records his delivering an oration at Guildhall before the Lord Mayor concerning the late attempts of the Queen's seditious subjects.

We must now revert to Fleetwood's services as a guildsman.

The differences which arose between the Company and the College of St. John have been adverted to in Hilles' life.³ Though erroneously called one of the school founders Fleetwood always interested himself in school affairs, and in March, 1572, was of the deputation appointed by the Court to wait on the Master of the Rolls as the Visitor of St. John's College, and with whom, in later life, he was in close official and social intimacy.

But no election of scholars having been made by the College the services of Fleetwood, Hilles, and others were again brought into requisition, and they were deputed in April, 1573, to wait on the Master of the Rolls and to represent, as the College was now by Dame Joan's death in full possession of the lands given for the maintenance of the whole of the scholars, that such should be elected, a representation which led to the award of March, 1574.

In 1573 we have Fleetwood's diary of a week's work in October, which is worthy of notice, as it enumerates some civic customs

¹ Strype's *Annals*, Vol. 2, pages 1 and 95.

² *Hist. Man. Cam.* (1883), page 508.

³ Page 202, *ante*.

of that period, and shows the active life which he led. As to the first he describes the swearing in of the new Sheriffs and Under Sheriffs, and then proceeds, "our order is the one-half to dine with the one Sheriff, and the other half with the other, at afternoon of the same day the new Sheriffs go to every prison and do there receive all the prisoners as a matter of record, and at every prison the gaoler thereof doth make unto them a very fine and needless banquet, which much better might be spared than spent." He then describes as of (Thursday) the election of the Lord Mayor, after which "we go to dinner with the two old Sheriffs where we had a costly feast with a play for our farewell. On Friday we went with the new Sheriffs to the Exchequer, where Mr. Baron Lord and Mr. Fanshawe did give them their oaths, and that done all the Exchequer officers did dine with the two Sheriffs, at which time your Lordship did dine at the Tower."

The active life is to be seen in what follows:—"Upon Saturdaye my Lord and the grey Cloks satt in Southwerk, and there we kepte two Sessiones; the one for the Sewers; and the other for the Punishment of Bawdes and Harlots. In the afternowne, my Lord and I kepte the Sessions for the Alehouses in London. For all these Busines, yet have Mr. Yale, Mr. Hamond, and myself everie Daie this Week satte in the Ecclesiasticall Comission. Wherein, I thanke God, we have done the Queene's Highnes good Service. This presente Sondaie, at Paule's Crosse, one Mr. Fairefax preacheth; this Daie a Man of my Ladie Mentess, for that he stolle an Orphant of the Citie of 12 Yeres olde, and married her in Leic; he being 30 yeres old, doth publiq Penanns for the same by the Judgement of the Ecclesiasticall Comission: To-morrowe in the Morning we do adorne the Comission of Oier and Determiner, untill we have the Assistans of some of the Justices, as concerninge these lewde Fellowes that have offended in adding to light Gold. To-morrowe at Nine of the Clock, I must adorne the Sessions of the Admiraltie in Southwerk, concerning the Triall of Pyratts that be in the Marshallseys, until Mr. Doctor Lewes come, who being one of our Chiefe Comissioners in these Causes, is in the Contrye with the Master of the Rolls. Mr. Justice Southcote and I meane God willing, upon Tuesdai to help the Justices of Peace of Surry, to kepe the Quarter Sessions at Kingston. Upon Thursdaie I meane to helpe my Masters of Buckinghamshire, to kepe their Sessions at Wickham, and there to see the Dealings of my Husband-

¹ This is set out at Part I, pages 21-2.

men and Nurse-children. Upon the same Thursdaie, the Half Yeres Sessions of Middlesex shalbe kepte at Westminster-Halle; for in Middlesex bene but two Generall Sessiones in the Yere by Statute. But trulie, I thinke, we do kepe Petit Sessiones about 50 in the Yere. Upon Saterdaie, the Gaole Deliverie of Newgate for Felons shalbe kepte. Upon Mondaie next after that, the fore-said adjoined Sessions of the Admiraltie shalbe kept in Southwerk; and after all these Things done as they ought to be, I meane, by God's Grace, to see your Honour, my Ladie, and my good land-ladye, my Ladie of Oxenford, and then Mr. Chancellor of the Duchie, and so to Cambridge, and then home again to my former Affayres. Thus most humblie I take my Leave of your good Lordshipp this presente first Sondaie of October, 1573."

It is not proposed to follow out all the incidents of his life, but to limit our enquiries to those arising from his minor duties as a guildsman and from the more important ones as Recorder.

With regard to his intercourse with his brother guildsmen and his intervention in Guild affairs, these will be seen by reference to his attendances at the several Courts¹ of the Company enumerated in the table which we have already given. The business of the period has been fully entered upon elsewhere, and to narrate it again in this chapter would be but a repetition. It will be seen that he served the Company with more or less assiduity from 1564 to 1590, during which period many important questions arose in which the counsel of such a man must have been most valuable to the Merchant Taylors Company at the time it was given.

In respect to his duties as Recorder we are fortunate in having a series of letters which he addressed to Lord Burghley from 1573 to the close of his career as Recorder. These letters are especially interesting as disclosing the social condition of London during the reign of Elizabeth as that came to the knowledge of one who was daily acting in responsible office to repress the evils which he referred to. These will be entered upon as they arise upon his correspondence.

To take the first of these social evils, viz., the excessive number of ale or tippling houses then established.²

¹ See page 213, *ante*.

² As to closing of these houses at the Curfew, and prohibiting foreigners from keeping such: see "Statutes for the City of London" (1285), 13 Edward I, Vol. 1, page 102-3, Stat. Realm.

The sale of ale in London in early times was regulated by the Local Government of each ward.¹ The brewer having made his brewing was, before any sale thereof, to notify the fact to the Alderman, who forthwith had to send the Ale Conner elected by the Wardmote to taste it as to quality, and then if up to the accepted standard the ale was to be sold at the assize price per gallon, 1½d. for the best and 1d. for the second quality, or if not, at such lesser price as the Ale Conner should put upon it. The brewer's sale was to the consumer direct and not to any huckster, for on such a transaction both would forfeit the value of the ale and be liable to imprisonment. London ale was celebrated for its quality and these laws were calculated to ensure a good article to the consumer. In course of time public or tippling houses sprang up, under no direct control until in the year 1551-2, the 5 and 6 Edward VI, cap. 25, placed them under the cognizance of the Magistrates. Parliament then thought it to be an intolerable hurt and trouble to the commonwealth of the realm (if the preamble of the statute is to be believed), that abuses and disorders should arise in ale and tippling houses, and the statute which was passed² enabled the Justices to put down such houses as they should deem meet, and enacted that thereafter none should be suffered to keep any such house save those admitted and allowed in session, which persons should enter into bond with surety against using unlawful games and also for maintaining good order and rule within the same. Power was also given to the Justices to inquire at Quarter Sessions into the conduct of those holding licenses and to forfeit their bonds if the conditions had not been observed. Any person selling beer without such license was to be committed to prison until he had given bond not thereafter to keep an ale or tippling house.

Vested interests were not then recognised, and in August, 1575, the Star Chamber gave orders for suppressing "the over great number of alehouses." The order was at once carried out. "My Lord Mayor and myself (writes Fleetwood) for the liberties of Southwark, and Mr. Justice Southcote and myself for Lambeth, the Clinke, the Banke, Paris Garden, the Overground, Newington, Bermondsey Street, and Kentish Street, sitting together,³ we put down, I am certain, above two hundred alehouses, and yet have left a sufficient number, yea, and more, I feare, than my Lord Keeper will well like of at the next county."

¹ Liber Albus, pages 274, 312; Riley's Memorials, page 347.

² 5 and 6 Edward VI, cap. 25, vol. 4, page 157, Statutes of Realm.

³ Vol. 2, Wright, page 18.

The next day the brewer (Mr. Campion) dined the Justices without inducing them to hold their hands, for in Westminster and the Duchie "we put down nere an hundred alehouses," and other parts of London and the suburbs were dealt with in like manner.

Another of the social evils affecting London was the influx of people from all other parts seeking employment, and who, until such was obtained, were vagrants or masterless men. To remedy or stay this evil, orders were issued in April, 1569, for the Beadles belonging to the four hospitals of London—Bridewell, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and Christ's, to arrest, and after assortment to take them to those hospitals. The gates of the city from 3 to 7 A.M., and from 7 till 11 P.M., and the wharves on the river were to be watched for the arrest of these men—and the Corporation appointed a Marshall over all the Beadles that the measures ordered might be effectually carried out.

Under the government of London¹ the ward Beadle was bound to report the arrival of such vagrants to the Alderman, and this law, which had fallen into desuetude, would, if enforced, as Fleetwood advised,² have "effectually avoided great whoredoms, murthers, thefts, unlawful assemblies, conspiracies, confederacies, and such like, and in the end have saved numbers from Tyburn."

It was part of the Recorder's duty to deal with this evil, and the legality of the course taken by Fleetwood with regard to vagrants is scarcely intelligible until we explain the action of Parliament in 1572, when rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars were declared to be exceedingly injurious to the community, and the law was strengthened.³

The endeavour was then made to establish a settlement for every man, and to prevent him from wandering from it to other parts of the kingdom. A wide definition was also given of those who as rogues, vagabonds, and beggars were liable to punishment, and which embraced persons going about the country without sufficient authority, especially fortune tellers, any one who was whole in body and able to labour, not having land or master, or using any craft or mysterie and unable to say how he got his living, fencers, bearwardes, and common players not belonging to any Baron of the

¹ Part I, pages 14-15.

² Styrpe's Stowe, Book 5, page 432.

³ 14 Elizabeth, cap. 5, Vol. 4, Statutes of Realm, pages 590-8.

Realm, scholars of the University begging without the sealed authority of the University.

If any of these persons (being above fourteen years) were found begging he was liable to be committed to prison (at the cost of his parish) for trial, and if convicted to be whipped and burnt in the right ear, unless some honest person would then and there take him into employment for a year. For any second or third offence the punishment was increased.

Settlement having been given to the poor¹ by registry of the Magistrate, the Lord Mayor (as to London) was once in each month to search through the district, and if any unregistered persons were found therein to send them on horseback, in cart, or otherwise to the next constable, and that constable was to pass them on through the agency of other constables to their settled parish. On again leaving the same place they were to be deemed rogues and punished accordingly.

The Act also provided that "persons harbouring any rogue should, on conviction thereof by two Justices, be fined 20s., and a poor person, not being diseased, lame, or impotent, being offered work by the overseer, and refusing to work, was to be whipped and stocked for the first refusal, and for the second punished as a rogue."²

It will be easily understood that the application of this Act to London would involve the Magistrates in constant care and supervision, and, the impartial execution of it, in trouble. It fell to the lot of Fleetwood to contend with these difficulties. As an instance of his vigilance, Strype quotes one of his earlier reports³ (8th August, 1575) to Lord Burghley, describing the state of the city to be well and quiet, adding therein that "the Lord Keeper Bacon, sitting in the Star Chamber and, according to order, calling for the book of misbehaviour of masterless rogues, fencers, and such like, we had nothing to present for London, for Mr. Justice Southcote⁴ and I had taken fine of six strumpetes such as haunt

¹ Sections 16-7.

² At a later period, 1575-6, the principle was introduced by the 18 Elizabeth, cap. 3, of providing work at the village or town in wool, hemp, or flax, that the labourer having that offered to him at home might have no excuse for going abroad, either to begging or pilfering, but if he refused the work or spoilt it he was to be sent to the House of Correction, which the statute directed should be erected in each county.

³ 2 Wright, page 20.

⁴ He came of a good Devonshire family, was born in 1511, and was Reader in the Middle Temple in 1556 and in 1559. Then Under Sheriff and one of the Judges of

the Hegge, and two or three other lewde fellows, with their companions, whom we dispatched away into their countreys.”

But this letter by an incidental reference to other evils of the time, bribery and Court favour, gives us materials for estimating his character, not only as the vigilant but as the honest Recorder. Fleetwood attributes his success in dealing with crime to the absence of Elizabeth’s Court, which had left London to escape plague. “The only cause that this reformation taketh so good effect here about London is that when by order we have either justly executed the laws or performed the Council’s commandment, we are wont to have a great man’s letter, or a lady’s ring, or some other token from such other inferior persons as will devise one untruth or another to accuse us of if we prefer not their unlawful request, the Court is far off, here we are not troubled with letters, neither for the reprieve of the prisoners nor for sparing that fray maker. These secretaries, chamber-keepers, and solicitors in the Court procure many letters from these lords and ladies upon untrue suggestions, the which letters do great hurt.”

Bishop Joseph Hall (of Norwich) might have had the Recorder, or the type of some such man, before him when he described the character of the “Good Magistrate,”¹ for many passages adjust themselves to Fleetwood:—“As for favour, the false advocate of the gracious, he allows him not to appear in the court. There only causes are heard to speak, not persons. A bribe in his closet, or a letter on the Bench, or the whisperings and winks of a great neighbour, are answered with an angry and courageous repulse. Displeasure, revenge, recompense, stand on both sides the bench, but he scorns to turn his eye toward them, looking right forward at ‘Equity,’ which stands full before him.”

The same trouble in the administration of justice followed him throughout his judicial career. Thus, in September, 1577,² he wrote to the same nobleman:—

“In August there was a great session, followed by eighteen executions at Tyburn—“the chiefest thieves in the land.” “There was plain dealing, and neither favour nor partiality. The quietest

the Sheriffs’ Court, and was made a Judge of the Queen’s Bench in February, 1563. He performed his duties with high reputation and retired in May, 1584, dying in April of the following year.

¹ Written in 1627.

² 2 Wright, page 69.

session he was ever at, and no more justices but the Lord Mayor, Sir W. Damsel, and himself, and no reprieves, because the Court was again away from London, and good justice could be done impartially."

Later in his life, in July, 1583, still the same trouble besets him. Writing to Burghley,¹ he says :—"Here are sundrie young gentlemen that use the Court, that most commonlie terme themselves gentlemen—when any of these have done anything amisse and are complained of or arrested for debt, then they run unto me and no other excuse or answer can they make but say 'I am a gentylman, and being a gentylman I am not thus to be used as a slave or a coliors handes.'"

He then proceeds, "I have been complained of to the Council Board and sent for. Mr. Secretary received my answer and told the complainants that they deserved to be hanged." It was a gross case of felonious assault upon a girl at the house of a fencer named Dwelles, living "near Cicell House, and 'the wenche came to accuse the fenser's wife in open Court.' This being the fact and the true case thereof I fynd the same a felonie by 3 Henry VIII, c. 2, and therefore methinketh such companions as this fencer and his wife ought not to be allowed to defame suche poor men as I am in such order before the Lords."

Unfortunately the evil did not abate, and the corruption is thus pointed out by Fleetwood² :—"My very singular good Lord, My Lord William of Winchester was wonte to say, 'When the Court is furthest from London then is there best justice done in all England.' I once heard as great a personage in office and authority as ever he was and yet living say the same wordes. It is growne for a trade now in the Courte to make reprieves,³ 20*l.* for

¹ 2 Wright, page 205, it was probably 4 Henry VIII, see page 54, *ante*.

² 7th July, 1585.

³ It was not only in criminal matters that this corrupt system prevailed. At about the same time the College of St. John, Oxford, bought of Her Majesty the rent charge of 3*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* in Warborough, with the Bury Land in controversy, for 700*l.** The items following in the account are as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Gloves to Her Majesty and noblemen during three years' suit in that cause	30	0	0
To the Lord Treasurer in a garter and rich George	20	0	0
To the Earl of Leicester a basin and ewer of silver double gilt ..	20	0	0
To Mr. Litchfield by Sir W. Mildmay's order for relinquishing his title in Warborough lands	20	0	0
To Mr. Secretary Wolley and his men for furthering that suit ..	13	6	8
To Mr. Maynard for soliciting my Lord Treasurer three years to procure Her Majesty's grant under the hand of the same ..	10	0	0

* Page 53 b, MS.

a reprieve is nothing although it be but for bare ten days. I see it will not be holpen unles one honoured gentilman who many tymes is abused by wrong information (and surely upon my soul not upon any evil meaning), will staye his pen."

But his zeal in searching after offenders of a different type, brought him into some trouble in November of the following year (1576). Since the Pope's Bull of 1569 and the legislation of 1571, the Roman Catholics had withdrawn themselves from the parish churches and established worship of their own, which was looked upon with suspicion by the Government of Elizabeth. Our guildsman William Kympton¹ was the Senior Sheriff, and sought the assistance of Fleetwood in a search which he had to make at the Charter House for Roman recusants.²

The ownership of the Charter House was then in Philip, Earl of Arundel, into whose possession it came on the attainder of his father, the Duke of Norfolk, in 1572, by a lease previously granted to him. Both father and son were adherents to the Roman Church and the then occupant was Signor Gheraldi, the Ambassador of Portugal. One of the existing rooms on the first floor had been fitted up as a Chapel, to which they gained access by the main staircase, by passing through the gallery now occupied by the Master.

The incidents are graphically described in Fleetwood's letters of the 7th and 8th November from "Ye Flete" to Lord Burghley:—

"On Sunday last, at six of the clock in the afternoon, Mr. Sheriff Kympton, and Mr. Sheriff Barnes and I (the Recorder) did repair to the Charter House, and, knocking at the gates, no man answered. . . . Mr. Sheriff Barnes, by agreement, went upon the backsyde to see that no Mass hearers should escape, and after divers knockings at the gate the porter comes, being a Portingale who did speake Englishe, and said my Lord was not at home. 'Then,' quoth I, 'let us speak with you, Mr. Porter, for we have brought letters.'³ And the Porter answered us very stubbornly, and at the length he opened the gate, and being half in and half out, the porter, knowing me very well, said 'Back, vilane,' and thrust the gate so sore upon my leg, that I shall carry the grief thereof to my grave. Sittens that time my pain has been so great, that I can take no rest, and if Mr. Sheriff Kympton had

¹ As to the suicide of Mrs. Kympton's brother in 1579, see 2 Wright, page 97.

² Strype's Annals, Vol. 2, Part 2, page 30, and Fleetwood's letters to Burghley in Wright's Elizabeth.

³ Vol. 2, Wright, page 40.

not thrust the gate from me my legge had been utterlie bruised into skyvers, and besides the porter began to bussel himself to his dagger, and tooke me by the throat, and then I thrust him from me, for indeed he was but a testy little wretche. And so I willed Mr. Sheriff and his officers to stay the fellow from doing any hurte to any other in his furye.”

This challenge should perhaps have prevented intrusion, but after this scuffle with the porter, access was gained, all the inmates of the house were examined, and the English subjects sent to prison for attending Mass. “All this while the Masse sayer stode at the north side of the altar, and no man lyving saide a word to him nor touched him, saving that he did give to divers of our servants singing cakes,¹ wherewith I was offended with them for receiving that ydolatrous bread.”

The Chapel of the Portuguese Ambassador, when he was resident in Hoxton,² in October, 1568, had been searched for English subjects, and the constables had indiscreetly entered his house. On this occasion the searching party of the Charter House were ignorant, until their entry, who was the occupant, nevertheless “it was thought mete to her Majesty that we should go to the Flete, and thereupon at the (P.C.) Board, we received our warrant to Mr. Warden, of the Flete, to receive us. “But after that, Mr. Sheriff [Kympton] had, out of order tumbled out a number of fonde words, and said that I and others had commanded him to go thither. I was contented to take the matters upon me alone, where in very deed my going was by the earnest request of the Sheriff, and especially for that Mr. Sheriff’s man being light-fingered, might take things away.

“I am not sorry for anything but that her Majesty shall be offended. If your lordship had sene the idolatrous dealing it would, I am sure, have stirred your lordship’s heart against them more than I can expresse.”

But to revert to the vagrant population—which attracted the notice of Elizabeth in January, 1581, when “a number of rogues environed her coach as she was taking the air at Islington.”

The fact was at once communicated to Fleetwood, who made a raid upon the London streets, which he thus records: “I dyd the same night send warrants out and in the morning I went abrode myself and I took that day 74 roogs, whereof some were blind and yet great usurers and very rich. On the same day towards night

¹ The Spanish and Portuguese singers ate pulse before singing, and were called in consequence *Fabarii* (Walcott). ² Cal. State Papers, page 321.

I sent for the Governors of Bridewell and took all the names of the roogs and sent them from the Sessions Hall to Bridewell where they remained that night. Upon Twelf Daye in the forenoon the Master of the Rolls myself and others received a charge before my Lords of the Council as touching roogs and masterless men and to have a privy searche.¹ The same day after dinner (for I dined at the Rolls) I met the Governor of Bridewell. So that afterwards we examined all the roogs and gave them substantial payment, and the strongest we dispersed in the mylne and the lighters. The rest we dismissed with a promise of double pay if we met with them againe. Upon Sundaye being *crastino* of the Twelf daye I dyned with Mr. Dean of Westminster, when I conferred with him about Westminster, and the Duchie, and then I took order for Southwark, Lambeth, and Newington, from whence I received a shoal of 40 roogs, men and women, and above. I bestowed them in Bridewell. I did the same afternoon peruse Pooles where I took about 20 cloked roogs that there used to keep standing. I placed them also in Bridewell. The next morning being Monday, the Master of the Rolls and the rest took order with the Constables for a privie searche against Thursday at night, and to have the offenders brought to the Sessions Hall on Fridaye in the morning where we, the Justices, shall mete. And against the same tyme my Lord Mayor and I dyd the lyke in London and Southwarke.

“The same afternoon the Master of Bridewell and I mete, and after every man being examined each one receyved his payment according to his deserts, at which tyme the strongest were put to worke and the others dismissed into their countries. The same day the Master of the Savoye was with us, and sayd he was sworne to lodge *claudicantes, egrotantes, et peregrinantes*. And the next morning I sente the Constables of the Duchie to the hospital, and they brought us 6 tall fellowes—that were draymen unto brewers, and were neither *claudicantes, egrotantes*, nor *peregrinantes*. The Constables if they might would have brought us many more. The Master did write a very courteous letter unto us to pardon them, and although he wrote charitably to us, yet they were all soundly payed and sent home to their masters.

¹ He had before made these on his own responsibility, thus : “At our last privy searches Mr. Fisher and I took above sixty rogues being all of the country, we have sent them all away to their own parts, and yet some were well whipped,” July, 1578.—2 Wright, page 88.

"All Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursdays, there came in no small number of roogs, they were rewarded all according to their deserts. Upon Friday morning at the Justice Hall there were brought in about 100 lewd people taken in privy search. The Master of Bridewell received them and immediately gave them punishment.

"On Saturday, after causes of conscience heard by my Lord Mayor and me, I dined and went to Pooles and other places, as well within the liberties as elsewhere, and I found not one roog stirring. Among all things I did note that we had not of London, Westminster, nor Southwarke, nor yet Middlesex, nor Surrey, above 12, and those we have taken order for. The residue for the most part were from Wales, Salop, Cestre, Somerset, Bowkingham, Oxford, and Essex, and that few or none of them had been about London above 3 or 4 months. I did note also that we mite not again with any in all our searches that had received punishment. The chefe nurserie of all these evill people is the Savoye and the brick kilnes near Islington. As for the brick kilnes we will take such order that they shall be reformed, and I trust by your good Lordship's help the Savoye shall be amended, for surelie as by experience I find it the same place as it is used—is not conducted to good use or purpose. And this shall suffice for roogs."¹

His life was one of constant toil in the public service, and affords another illustration of one of the characteristic of the "good magistrate," pictured by Hall: "His nights, his meals, are short and interrupted; all which he bears well, because he knows himself made for a public servant of Peace and Justice." "Truly (Fleetwood writes to Burghley on May 2nd, 1582) I have not leisure to eat my meat—I am so called upon. I am at the least the best part of a hundred nights in a year abroad in searches.² I never rest, and when I serve her Majesty than I am for the most part worse spoken of, and that many times. In the Court I have no man to defend me; and as for my Lord Mayor, my chief hand, I am driven every day to back him and his doings."

He then pleads thus earnestly for relief: "My good Lord, for

¹ 2 Wright, page 165-6.

² These are instances of Fleetwood's labour: "You may think it strange that yesterday morning (first Saturday after Michaelmas, 1577) at 4 A.M. I was in London, and at 7 A.M. with Mr. Secretary at Windsor, and then again in London with the Master of the Rolls at my Lord Mayor's dinner," which was probably at 1 or 2 o'clock at noon.—(2 Wright, page 67.) Again in 1574 "travelled in the search (for the arrest of Bradbrom) from 2 till 5 A.M." His M.S. Hatfield Papers [II] page 79.

Christ's sake, be such a meane for me as that with credit I may be removed from this intollerable toil. Certainly I serve on a thankless soil."

He had been made a Serjeant in 1580, and he now asks for some further promotion. "There is, as I learne, like to fall a roome of the Queen's Serjeant. If your Lordship please to helpe me to one of these roomes, I assure your honour that I will do her Majesty as painful service as sixe of them shall do. Helpe me, my good Lord, in this my humble suit, and I will, God willing, set down for your Lordship such a book of the law¹ as your Lordship will like." In three days succeeding this letter he had to present the Lord Mayor to the Queen for her approval, and "her Majesty found fault with me for giving more praises unto her Majesty's Highness, as touching the advancement of religione, none, as she said, she deserved. But my good Lord, I said nothing but truly and justly as it was indeed." However, no promotion came, and he had to toil on in ungrateful soil.

But the vagrants were not the only class of people in London who were the cause of trouble and anxiety to him, for the apprentices swarmed in numbers, and the policy of Parliament² hitherto had been to increase their number. They were the inmates of their master's houses and members of his family; but liable in case of offence to the direct punishment of the Lord Mayor. The ordinary amusements of London in 1577³ were the fence schools, the dancing schools, bowling alleys, shooting pricks, and bear baiting in Paris Garden; but theatres, and plays at this time originating, were the cause of license.⁴ The assembling of youths at these performances led not unfrequently to riot between the apprentices on the one side and the general auditors on the other, like a town and gown riot at one of the universities.

An instance of this is reported by Fleetwood in June 1584:

¹ On the 10th March, 1577, he wrote thus to Lord Burghley: "I have been toiling almost day and night in compounding a general table for the whole body of the Common Law that I may turn to anything at the first time that is set down in our books of the Common Law, the which work I have almost overcome. This travail hath withdrawn me from all things, but surely my Lord in my foresaid travail I have found out such strange and rare things in the law that I never either marked in reading or heard any other tell of. If God had blessed me with that leisure which others have that serve the Queene, I could (with God's help) bring forth very strange matters. And I do learn after thirty years' study that our forefathers were marvellous deep and profound learned men."—2 Wright, page 76.

² 19th Henry VII, cap. 7, 22 Henry VIII, cap. 4, and see Part I, page 216.

³ The Friar, "a very busy inquisitor of every thing, who came with the Dutch embassy, was taken to these places."—2 Wright, page 70. ⁴ Part I, page 234.

he had been absent from London, and on his return gives his diary of work to Lord Burghley, commencing thus :—

“That night returned to London, and found all the wards full of watches. The cause thereof was for that time neere the theatre or curten,¹ at the time of the playes, there lay a prentice sleeping upon the grasse; and one Challes did turn upon the toe upon the belly of the same prentice; whereupon the same prentice did start up, and after words, they fell to playne blowes. The company increased of bothe sides to the number of 500 at least. This Challes exclaimed and said that he was a gentleman, and that the apprentice was but a rascal, and some there were little better than roogs, that took upon them the name of gentlemen, and said that the prentices were but the skumme of the earth.” Such an insult to the prevailing class of rising citizens was not likely to be accepted quietly, and consequently “upon these troubles, the prentices began the next day, Tuesday, to make meetings and assemblies, and did conspire to have broken the prisones, and to have taken forth the prentices that were imprisoned. But, my Lord, I had intelligence thereof, apprehended four or five of the chief conspirators, who are in Newgate, and stand indicted of their lewd demeanor.”

Here it might be hoped the matter would end, but “upon Wednesday, one Browne, a serving-man, in a blue coat, a shifty fellow, having a perilous wit of his owne, intending a sport if he could have brought it to passe, did at the theatre door quarrell with certayn poor boyes, handicraft prentices, and stroake some of them, and lastlie, he with his sword wounded and maymed one of the boys upon the left hand. Whereupon there assembled near 1,000 people. Browne did very cunningly convey himself away”

But the theatre was not the only occasion of riot, or the only place from whence a large number of partisans could be drawn in to riot, for “upon the same night two companions, one being a tailor and the other a clerk of the Common Pleas, bothe of the Duchie, and both very lewd fellows, fell out about an harlott, and the tailor raised the prentices and other light persons, and thinking the clerk was ran into Lyon’s Inn, ran to the house with 300 at the least, broke down the windows of the house, and stroke at the gentlemen. During which broyle one Reynolds, a baker’s sonne, came into Flete Street, and there made solemn proclamation for clockes.

¹ This—assuming it to be the “Theatre” called the “Green Curtain”—was in Shoreditch—where Ben Jonson acted, and for which he wrote plays.

The strete rose and took him, and brought him to me, and the next day we indicted him for this misdemeanour with many others.”¹

The record of crime the reader would hope was at an end, but in the same report Fleetwood continues :

“Upon Sunday at afternoon one brewer’s man killed another at Islington. The lyke parte was done at the White Chappel at the same time.”

Then came on another party disturbance with the prentices.

“The same nighte my Lord Fitzgerald, with a number of gentlemen with him, at Moorgate met a tall young fellow, being a prentice and strook hym upon the face with his hatt. Whereupon my lord and his companie were glad to take a horse, and did skarcelie escape without great danger. The sheriff came and fett him to his house, where he lodged and imprisoned one Cotton,² that procured my lord to misuse the prentice. The same night at Aldersgate Street, a prentice was put in a kage, and the kage was broken by a number of lewd fellowes, and I hearing thereof did send my men for hym, and sent him to the comter, where to-morrow he shall answer for his misdemeanour with others.”

Now what we have here recorded are not sensational reports of a writer catering for the amusement of his readers, but the authoritative statements of the Recorder of London to the Secretary of State for the guidance of the Queen’s Government: therefore we may be sure that these riots did take place, and that he intended to give a faithful description of the state of the public peace when he sent them to Lord Burghley.

Another report from the Recorder in his letter of July, 1585, will complete the picture. “The same day we fewe Justices that were at Newgate did spend the same daye about the searching out of sundry that were receptors of felons, when we found greate many as well in London, Westminster, Southwark, and in all other places about the same.” A list of those in London is then given: the “Falcon,” in Grace Street; at Smart’s Key, the “Gun,” at Byllynsgate; the “Crown,” at Bishopsgate; the “Maidenhead,” by the Tower Ditch; the “Harrow,” at Bedlem, and the “Rose,” at Flete Bridge. Also the names of forty-five masterless men and cutpurses, whose practice was to rob gentlemen’s chambers, and artificers’ shops about London.

¹ 2 Wright, page 229, 18th June, 1584.

² El ewhere he describes him “as of 18 years of age (more bold than wise), a marvellous audacious youth standing altogether upon his genterie.”

Fleetwood then goes on to describe a "School of Crime" which had been recently opened by Wotton for instruction in what was termed a new trade. "Amongst our travells this one matter tumbled out by the waye, that one Wotton, a gentelman borne, and sometime a merchant-mane of good crydit, who falling by time with decay kepte an alehouse at Smart's Key, near Billingsgate, and for some misdemeanour put downe. He reared up a new trade in lyfe and in the same house he procured all the cutpurses about this city to repair to the same house. There was a schoolhouse set up to learn young boys to cut purses. There were hung up two devyses, the one was a pocket and the other was a purse. The pocket had in it certain counters and was hung about with hawks bells, and over the top did hang a little sacring bell,¹ and he that could take out the counters without any noyse was allowed to be a public foyster, and he that could take a piece of sylver out of the purse without the noyse of any of the bells he was adjudged a judicial nypper."²

There were too many apprentices and too many vagrants, and the evil to be suppressed was the over-peopling of London, which increased the difficulties (1) of governing, especially the lower and baser sort; (2) of provisioning the people; (3) of abating plague. This excess of population had induced the citizens to build over their gardens and alleys, to turn one tenement into many, to set up sheds for small shops and to make holes under other shops for the poorer sort of artizan. No one knew the moral evils of overcrowding better than Fleetwood. Writing to Lord Burghley from Foster Lane "of many other things here happening, there is nothing worthy of note save this one thing, that their are forty brables and pickeries done about this towne more in one daye than when I first came to serve was done in a month. The reason is of these multitude of buildings being stuffed with poor, needie, and of the worst sort of people."³

These difficulties were intended to be met by the Queen's Proclamation, of July, 1580, resting solely on the prerogative. It set forth Her Majesty's care for the city (antiently termed "Her Chamber"), and stated that where there are such great multitudes of people brought to inhabit, whereof a great part are very poor, yea such as must live by begging or by worse means and they heaped up

¹ A bell used to be rung in churches at the elevation of the Host, p. 70 *ante*.

² 2 Wright, page 246.

³ 2nd May, 1582, *ib.*, page 171.

together and are a sort smothered with many families of children and tenants in one house or small tenement, it would needs follow that if plague arose a great mortality would ensue. Therefore Her Majesty by the advice of Her Council and the considerate opinions of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen did command all persons to forbear building on any new site within three miles from the city gates, and from letting any more families than one to inhabit in any house that hath heretofore been inhabited." The erection of new buildings was not prohibited within the city and to stay their erection outside enhanced the value of building sites inside the city. However, overcrowding in existing houses was forbidden. The Lord Mayor and others had to enforce the Proclamation, which was a great invasion of legal right by sending to prison those disobeying till they entered into recognizances to observe it.

But the measure fell short of what was really wanted, and in 1583, Fleetwood prepared¹ and offered to the Lords of the Council his advice upon those which should be taken. His methods were these: No increased number of new houses upon old sites, no persons to be placed in beer houses who would be burthensome "with their poverty," and no ale or victualling houses to be allowed. That Her Majesty's order should apply to sheds as well as to houses—because men "lie therein under the stall—where if one die infected, it is more dangerous than in any house, and such people do commonly sojourn in at the alehouses, that making holes under stalls for artizans be forbidden. that the city laws against tippling in cellars be put in force, and that stalls in streets beyond the posts in their houses be taken away." Then he fearlessly adds this advice to their Lordships (of the Council), "that they should forbear to make requests for men to be made free by redemption, by whom, their issue and servants, the city is nearly filled."

The apprenticeship system, he thought, should be altered, and the "Lord Mayor consulted of reasonable means for abridging their excess in number, and preventing their setting up in trade instead of working as journeymen." The citizens were to be prevented from "running to faires," that is, taking their goods for sale to the townes adjacent, thereby ruining those towns and obliging themselves to keep a double number of servants in the city."

As a measure of precaution against plague, Her Majesty was to ordain by Her prerogative a "Harbinger for the Plague," with

¹ Strype, Book 5, page 439.

power to take up lodging in any newly-built house, therein to place and cherish the invalid until he be whole.

Lastly, that all enclosures and encroachments in Moorfields and other fields about the city, should, by Commission of Chancery, be thrown down and laid open as in former times.

Crime was, however, lessened, which Strype attributed to Fleetwood's care. Writing to Lord Burghley on Whitsunday, 1586, he thus reports, "at the gaol at Newgate we had little or nothing to do," the reason is this—we have in prison the most principal thieves in this realm, we lack none but Mannering, who doth daylie gather into his societe lewd persons who committ in all parts of this realm most dangerous robberies."¹

His public services would appear to have attracted the notice of the Queen, for Walsingham, in writing to Burghley, on 27th April,² says that she had resolved, but no such promotion came, to make him a Baron of her Exchequer.

There are traces of his occasional services to the State, though he held no official post except that of Recorder, and carried on his ordinary practice as a Serjeant-at-Law. In July, 1583, we find him joined in a Royal Commission with Bishop Aylmer and Dean Nowell, of St. Paul's, for reformation of the abuses in printing, and in 1588 he reported with the Solicitor-General as to proceedings to be taken against the Jesuits, and in 1589 on the right of exemption or sanctuary of persons in the churchyard of St. Paul's from the city authorities.³

But the time for rest had been earned, and in 1591 the Common Council granted him 100*l.* per annum for life, and he resigned his office. Of his resignation and one incident preceding it he thus writes to Lord Burghley: "January, 1591, I rode to the Yeld Hall to sit on the Commission for strangers and in the lower end of Cheape side towards Paul's there stood a man and woman, both aged persons, upon a Skafold with papers upon their heads. The man was keeper of the Conduit there. These two lewd persons in the night entered into the Conduit and bathed themselves, *et adtunc et ibidem turpiter exoneraverunt ventres eorum, &c.*"

He was made Queen's Serjeant in 1592, but his life's work was ended, and he retired to his estate at Great Missenden, Bucks,

¹ 2 Wright, page 292.

² Cal. Dom. State Papers, page 322.

³ 2 Lodge, page 383.

although he died in Noble Street on the 20th February, 1594, but was buried at Missenden.

He left several MS. works behind him, and he presented the Lord Mayor and Aldermen with a book of his collections, called *Liber Fleetwood* (containing the names of all the courts in the realm of England, and the arms of the Lord Mayor in 1576 emblazoned in their proper colours) the liberties, franchises, and customs of the city; the liberties, customs, and charters of the Cinque Ports; the Queen's prerogative in the salt shores, &c., written by his clerk, Thomas Weston.

Such, as contemporary records show him to have been, was Fleetwood, the Recorder, the citizen, and Merchant Taylor of the Reformation period, whose life, whatever it may be by others, ought to be held in respect by his successors in the Guild of which he was a distinguished hereditary member.¹ London was suffering at that period from some of the social and economical evils that are now rampant—as an over-crowded population—low wages, from foreign competition, and crime from intemperance. But these were dealt with solely by the strong arm of the law, and we fail to find any traces of those charitable and benevolent agencies which fortunately we now have established—striving so earnestly to mitigate or remove these and many other evils incident to a large London population.

¹ Strype's *Annals*, Vol 2, Parts I and II, and Vol. 3, Part I, and Strype's *Lives of Parker and of Aylmer*, and Cal. State Papers (*temp.* Elizabeth).

CHAPTER XX.

THE LOVING BROTHER OF THIS MYSTERIE
JOHN STOW, 1547 TO 1605.¹

Born in St. Michael's, Cornhill, 1515, p. 298.—His walk in boyhood to Goodman's Fields for milk, p. 298.—Residence in Aldgate, p. 298.—Execution of the Romford bailiff, p. 298.—Removal to St. Mary Axe, p. 298.—Freeman in 1547, p. 299.—A working Taylor, p. 299.—Examined as to his conduct at Pope's Head in 1566, p. 299.—Members of the Company examined by Master and Wardens, p. 300.—Pension granted in 1579 as a Chronicler, p. 302.—Presents his Annals to the Company in 1592, p. 303.—Pension increased in 1593, p. 303.—Again increased on motion of Robert Dowe, p. 303.—Dowe's benefaction in 1602, p. 304.—Recital of the deed, p. 304.—Death, p. 304.—Howe's present of Chronicles, p. 305.—Personal description of Stowe, p. 305.—Place of interment, p. 305.

JOHN STOW was descended from a grandfather and father each named Thomas, who lived and carried on their business in St. Michael's parish, Cornhill, in which church they were buried in 1526 and 1559, respectively. In this parish the Chronicler was born in the year 1515, and there lived for his early years. From thence it was that in his youth "he went to Goodman's Fields and fetched many a half-penny worth of milk, never getting less than three ale pints for his half-penny in the summer, nor less than one ale pint in the winter, always hot from the kine as the same was milked and strained."

In 1549 he resided in Aldgate by the well lying between Leadenhall and Fenchurch Street. There he saw the bailiff of Romford, "a man very well beloved," brought early on St. Mary Magdalene's day (then kept holiday) by the Sheriffs and Knight Marshall to the well at Aldgate, and on the gibbet then set up hung, but protesting his innocence, which words Stow heard "for he was executed on the pavement of my door where I then kept house."

Ultimately—but prior to 1585—he removed to a house in St. Mary Axe, opposite to St. Andrew's Undershaft² church, and there resided until his death in April, 1605. His connection with the Company will now be shown.

¹ The name occurs sometimes with an *e* final.

² The house was pulled down in 1864, but there is a water-colour drawing of it by Schnibillee (20th October, 1817) in my friend Mr. Walmisley's Pennant.

He was apprenticed to John Bulley, and admitted to the freedom on 25th November, 1547, but does not appear to have been ever called to the "Livery," or any office in the Fraternity, except that he acted as a "wyfeler" both in Harper's and in Rowe's Pageants.

That he began his life in the handicraft of Tayloring is stated by his kindly benefactor and friend Robert Dowe, in a deed of June, 1602, by which he made provision for poor brethren using such handicraft, but in what year Stow left it to write "Chronicles and other memorable matters" is not shown. He first comes to the notice of the Company in this character by a trouble into which he fell in the year 1568.¹

A controversy had arisen between Elizabeth and the Duke of Alva about the seizure of Spanish Treasure in the Straits of Dover, which led to reprisals upon English subjects in the Low Countries. The incidents were stated on behalf of Her Majesty by a Proclamation, dated Hampton Court, 6th January; and on behalf of the Duke of Alva, by a Manifesto of the Spanish Ambassador (Don Guerau D'Espes), dated 10th January, 1569.

This Manifesto gave great offence to the Privy Council, and an examination was held before the civic authorities to find out by whose agency any currency or circulation had been given to it. On the date of its publication information was sent up to the Council from the Drapers and Haberdashers Companies, and from another informant, that one John Baptista had read the Manifesto to some English merchants at the Pope's Head² in Lombard Street.

On the 17th February, the same enquiry was pursued before the Master and Wardens of the Grocers Company, and before the Lord Mayor, Sir Roger Martin, the Mercer, upon which latter occasion John Stow was put under examination, as appears in this extract:—

"Coram majore Civitate
Londoni.

"Decimo septimo die februarii 1568,
annoque undecimo Dñe Elizabeth Regine

"Deis die et Anno.

"John Stowe, m^ochauntt, a collector of cronycles, examined sayth that he hath a copy of one of the foresayd billes in englyshe, and he had the same of one Henry Boswell aboute fortnight paste.

¹ As to the search of his house and the contents of his library in the year 1568, see Strype's *Grindal*, pages 184 and 517. As to his search, see Part I, p. 264.

² The present Pope's Head Alley prior to 1666 was covered with one large stone building with the arms of England in front supported by angels, and part of this building, fronting Lombard Street, was occupied as a tavern. It was given to the Company in 1616 by Sir W. Craven, page 314, and there is a description of it and the names of the tenants in 1666 given in the Fire decree of 1672.

And he sayth that he redd the same to one Allyn a taylor^r, and one Snellinge a carpento^r, his neighbo^{rs}; but he sayth that he nev⁹ gave copy oute of yt. And he sayth that he had an other cotype of the same of one Roberte Calye Stacyon⁹, and conferred them bothe together and made one true cotype oute of them bothe. And he saythe that the sayde Boswell tolde hym that he had the same of a Spaniarde Pryson⁹ wth M^r Osborne in the Spanishe tonge, wth one of M^r Osborne's S^vants translated into Englyshe."

As Stow had evidently talked the matter over with his brother Taylors, the enquiry was referred to the Master and Wardens of the Guild, who at that time were Gerard Gore, as Master, with Hulson, W. Heton, and Arthur Dawbney, as three of his Wardens, and it is curious to note from the depositions of the several examinants how very shy they appear to have been of knowing much about the matter. The knowledge or memory of the nine Taylors examined was too frequently failing them to bring guilt home to any "brother of the craft," as John Stow possibly stood exposed to some risk.

The depositions were in these words:—

"Examynacons had & taken by the M^r & Wardens of the M⁹chanttaillo^{rs} of these psons undernamed, cons⁹nynge a writynge or answer made by or in the name of the Spanysse Imbassado^r unto a Proclamacon of late sett forthe by the Quenes Ma^{tie} for the Admonishinge of her Subjects to forbear the traffique into Kynge of Spaynes Countrie.

"Ffirste, George Sotherton,¹ M⁹chanttaillo^r, beinge examyned upon the p^mysse saythe, That he aboute three weeks paste, sawe a copie of such a like writinge, written in the Englysshe tonge in thands of William Meryck,² M⁹chanttaillo^r w^{ch} he read unto him accordinglie. And further he saiethe, That one Hanne Browne lienge in his house sayed That certen Douchemen had knowledge of suche a like writinge, More thereof he cannot saye.

"Itm, Reignolde Barker,³ M⁹chanttaillo^r, likewyse sayethe, That aboute xiiij daies laste paste he harde a talke upon the Bursse, That one of the Barns shoulde have suche a like writing, But who it was that gave that reporte, he dothe not nowe remember.

"Itm, Rycharde Maye,⁴ M⁹chanttaillo^r, sayethe, That aboute three weeks paste, he harde one, Hanne Ontease beinge at the postm⁹

¹ Master in 1589.

² Master in 1565.

³ Master, 1595.

⁴ Master 1583.

his house, That the Spanysshe Imbassado^r had made answer unto the Quenes Ma^{ties} proclamacon, and that the sayd Hannee had read it in the Spanissh tonge, more he cannot saye.

“Itm, Robarte Hulson,¹ M^ochanttaillo^r, saiethe, That one Thomas Steven Skynner declarid unto hym, That one John Stowe a M^ochanttaillo^r, hadde a Copie of the same writinge from the Spanishe Imbassado^r, more he cannot saye.

“John William Kympton,² M^ochanttaillo^r, sayethe, That he harde saye, That one of the Barns hadde a cople of the same writinge made by the Spanissh Imbassado^r, w^{ch} sayde Copie the saide Barns shoulde delyver unto the Quenes Counsell, But of whome he harde the same, he dothe not nowe remember.

“Itm, John Stowe, M^ochanttaillo^r, sayethe, That he aboute xiiij daies paste or more, hathe hadde two sev^{al}l Copies of the saide answer made to the Quenes Ma^{ties} Proclamacion in englishe, The firste Copie whereof, he hadde of one Rob^{te} Caley stacion^o in Paternuster Rowe, and the other Copie he hadde of Harry Boswell, abidinge wth Maister Osborne, M^ochante, oute of the w^{ch} two Copies he sayethe, That he drewe out one pfecte Copie, the w^{ch} he deliv^{ed} unto my L. Mayo^r, And likewyse the Copie w^{ch} he hadde of the acide Harry Boswell, And the copie w^{ch} he hadde of the saide Caley was by the saide Stowe unto him delyv^{ed} againe. And further he sayethe, That he harde saye, That the firste Copie of the sayde writinge was in the Spanysshe tonge in the custodie of a Strainger lienge in — Osborne his house and was translated into englishe by one of the s^vants of the saide Maister Osborne but by w^{ch} of them he knowethe not.

“And further the saide Stowe sayethe, That he did reade one of the sayde Copies unto one Thomas Steven Skynner, and whiles that he was readinge the same unto hym ther came two of his neighbo^{rs}, viz., Rob^{te} Allyn, draper, & Will^m Snelinge, carpenter, and also he the saide Stowe tolde Willm More, M^ochanttaillo^r, that he hadde sene suche a copie.

“Itm, Thomas Langton, M^ochanttaillo^r, saiethe, That he sawe a Copie of the same answer in thands of one Hanse Wouters, factor for John Debend, beinge at the Postm^o his house, w^{ch} answer was in Douche, and translated out of Spanysshe as the sayde Hanse reported unto the saide Thomas Langton, and more he cannot saye.

“Itm, Abraham Smythe, M^ochanttaillo^r, saiethe, That he aboute a monthe paste Did see a Stranger whose name ———, beinge

¹ Master, 1569.

² Master, 1570.

at the Postm^o his house translatinge of the sayde answer out of Spanysshe into Douche, more he cannot saye.

“Itm, Willm Merick, M^ochanttaillo^r, saiethe, That he hadd a Copie of the Answer that Kinge Phillipps Imbassado^r made to the Quenes Mat^{ies} Proclamacon, deliv^oed to hym by John Baptyst Sanvittaris, in the Spanysshe tonge, w^{ch} Copie after the sayde Willm Merick had written it oute, woorde for woorde, in the Spanysshe tonge, deliv^oed it againe unto the saide John Baptist, myndinge to have p^osented the same answer unto M^r Secretary Cysell, did translate it into englishe, And in the meanetyme did send woorde thereof unto M^r Secretary Cysell, by one Blase Sanders, of London, Grocer, that if his hono^r hadde not the same Copie, he woulde bringe it unto hym, who made answer to the saide Blase Sanders, that he hadde it frome the Imbassado^r And the Copie w^{ch} the saide W^m Merick translatid into englishe oute of the Spanishe tonge did deliv^o it unto one William Burrowe to shewe it unto M^r Tamworthe of the Prevy Chamber, w^{ch} is not as yett come unto his hands. And for because he woulde have had the foresaide Copie fayre written to have p^osented it as afforesaide deliv^oed it unto one Xpofer Hudson, m^ochante, that his s^ovant mighte Copie it oute, who made two Copies thone for the saide W^m Merick, and the other to remayne wth hymself, also Rob^{te} Dowe, M^ochanttaillo^r, requested to have a Copie of the same writinge w^{ch} he gave unto hym And also the saide W^m Merick sayethe that the saide John Baptyste de Sarvitorris deliv^oed the same Copie unto Ozias Dearanda to translate it into the englishe tonge the w^{ch} the saide W^m Merick did see, and readde it, more he cannot saye.”¹

A few years after he became a pensioner by grant from the Merchant Taylors, and in their Account Books for the year 1578–9 is this entry:—²

“Item, paid to John Stowe, Cronickler, for one half-yeare’s Pension, ending at Midsomer, 1579, graunted to him per Courte of Assistants, xls. (40s.)”

The Court Records of this period have been searched for the order relating to his grant, without success: but the payment of 4*l.* a year to John Stowe out of the Company’s funds goes on with

¹ These papers are numbered 17, 26, 38–9, and 40, and 120–2 and 143, in the Catalogue of State Papers (F.S.) Elizabeth, 1569–71, London, 1874.

² Strype complains that neither the city of London nor the Merchant Taylors Company ever granted Stow a pension, which is plainly an error.

regularity until Midsummer, 1600, sometimes being called his "Fee," and sometimes his "Pension."¹

In 1592, Stow presented to "the House" his "Annals," "as a small monument given in token of his thankfulness." Thus, "at this Court (5th July, 1592), John Stowe p^resented to this Howse a Booke called the Annalles which is a briefe Chronicle of Actes and things sett downe and collected by him the said John Stowe, the which he praieth maie be accepted as a small monument given to this Corpora^con by him, in token of his thankfulness to this Companie."

In the year 1593, he had a further sum of 4*l.* a year as a pensioner under Mr. Robert Dowe's benefaction; but the further payment of the pension cannot be traced, as the names of the pensioners soon ceased to be recorded, but it may be presumed with tolerable certainty that it was paid.

In concluding his "Survey of London," in 1598, Stow, after referring to James Dalton as having died without finishing "his Work" (a common fault to promise more than to perform), wrote thus of himself, "I have been divers time minded to add certain chapters to this book, but being (by the good pleasure of God) visited with sickness such as my feet (which have borne me many a mile) have of late years refused once in four or five months to convey me from my bed to my study, and therefore could not do as I would." We may fairly suppose that in consequence of this failing health, the Company deemed it proper to increase *their own* gift to 6*l.* per annum, such increase appearing by their Court and Account Books.

"Upon the mo^con of Mr. Robert Dowe an ancient Master, and one of the Assistants of this Howse, in favour of John Stowe, a loving Brother of this Company, who taketh much paynes in wryting of Chronicles and matters of Antiquities. It is granted and agreed that the pen^con of iiij*l.* per ann^y gyven him owt of the co^mon stocke of this Howse shalbe encreased xls. (40*s.*) and made up vj*l.* per ann^y, to begine at our Ladie daye nexte—soe as with the iiij*l.* he receaveth out of this Howse (as one of the Almesmen of the said Mr. Robert Dowe) he is in the whole to receave yerely duringe his life, a pen^con out of, and from this Companye, amounting to the sum of tenn pounds per annum."²

¹ It is said that Stow sold his transcript of Leland to Camden for an Annuity of 8*l.*

² 12th March, 1600.

Master's Payments for 1600-1.

"Item, paid to John Stowe for his yerelie pencion—viz., for ij. quarters after the rate of xxs. the quarter, and for th'other twoe quarters ending at Midsomer 1601, after the rate of xxxs. the quarter, according to order taken at a Court of Assistents xijth Martii, 1600."

The particulars of Robert Dowe's Charity¹ have already been printed elsewhere, but in the deed of 20th June, 1602, in possession of the Company, and which was revoked by that of August, 1605, these passages are found :—

It sets forth by way of recital that Dowe, "knowing the great number of his poore brethren, the Merchant Taylors, using the handycraft of Taylory to be decayed many waies, chiefly by a number of forreins that have entred the Citty of London, and are divers waies placed and sett on worke in open shoppes and private howses within the liberties there by want of good foresight, care and diligence to reform the same, being moved with a zealous and charitable care to relieve the decayed estate of the said poore handycraft so much as he might," makes some provision for these poor people.

The deed then provides that the Company shall pay a yearly pension of 5*l.* 2*s.* to certain Tailors, and to John Stow, who was not then a working Tailor, and sets forth that those holding the pension should be qualified as such, "saving only the said John Stowe, whoe yet notwithstanding in his begynnyng was of the handycraft, and now for many yeres hath spent great labor and study in wryting of Chronicles and other memorable matters for the good of all posterity, and therefore the said Robt. Dowe hath thought fitt for his better maynetennance to make him partaker of the benefit of one of the said Pensions."

This pension Stow² received until his death on the 8th April, 1605, and his successor Howes (if he can be called such), received encouragement in his labours from the Company, as this entry proves :—

"There was freely and lovingly given by this Court to Mr Edmond Howes the Chronicler, who sithence the death of Mr. John Stowe hath sett forth an abridgement or summary of the

¹ Part I, page 162.

² In 1603 he dedicated the second and last edition of his *Survey* to Sir Robert Lee, who was then Lord Mayor and a Member of the Court of the Merchant Taylors Company.

English Chronicles, to thend the better to encourage him to proceed in the course which he hath begun, the some of Tenn pounds.”—[20th February, 1607.]

At a subsequent Court (4th April, 1615) Howes presented a copy of his work to the Company, but neither Stowe’s copy nor Howes’ have been preserved in the Library of the Merchant Taylors. The sketch that Howes gives of his person and character is as follows:—

“He was tall of stature, leane of body and face, his eyes small and chrystaline, of a pleasant and cheerefull countenance; his sight and memory very good; very sober, mild, and courteous to any that required his instructions; and retained the true use of all his senses unto the day of his death, being of an excellent memory. He alwaies protested never to have written any thing either for malice, feare, or favour, nor to seeke his owne particular gaine or vaine glory; and that his only paines and care was to write *truth*. He could never ride, but travelled on foote unto divers cathedral churches, and other chiefe places of the land, to searche records. He was very carelesse of scoffers, backbiters, and detractors. He lived peacefully, and died of the stone collicke, being four score yeares of age, and was buried the 8th of April, 1605, in his parish church of Saint Andrewes Undershaft; whose mural monument neere unto his grave was there set up at the charges of Elizabeth his wife,” and is still to be seen, as erected by his wife, “ut perpetuum sui amoris testimonium, dolens.” Other Merchant Taylors buried there, far greater men in their day, such as Sir Thomas Offley, the Parkers, Sir W. Craven, and others, have no such memorial—indeed no memorial whatever.

CHAPTER XXI.

SIR W. CRAVEN, WARDEN 1593, LORD MAYOR 1610-11.

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AFTER Sir Thomas White—to whose life that of Sir W. Craven bears some analogy—there are few guildsmen so worthy of record as Sir W. Craven, not only as one who raised himself from a humble condition to a position of great affluence in the city of London, but for his willing benevolence throughout his career, and for the generous provision which he made by his will not only for his relations, direct and collateral, but for his dependents and the poor.

Sir W. Craven¹—the “equestri dignitate et Senator Londinensis”

¹ See an article “Craven,” by Walter Clode, in the Dictionary of National Biography, for further information.

of Camden—was born about the year 1548, of poor parents (William Craven and Beatrix, daughter of John Hunter, his wife) at Appletreewick, in the parish of Burnsall, and sent up to London by a common carrier to seek his fortune there.

He was first brought into contact with the Merchant Taylors Company when upon entering into his indenture of apprenticeship, he came before the Master and Wardens in the year 1562—possibly in Hilles' mastership, with Robert Hulson. This guildsman whom he was to serve, and of whose family he was to become an inmate, was a man of established position in the Company, who had his warehouse or shop in St. John's, Watling Street, to which parish in grateful recollection of his residence there, Sir W. Craven gave 100*l.* by his will. His apprenticeship being ended he was admitted to the freedom of the Company on the 4th March, 1569,¹ his old master, Robert Hulson being then also Master of the Company; but his relationship with Hulson, though commencing in apprenticeship, terminated in a tenancy which did not close amicably, as their differences were brought under the notice of the Master and Wardens, and are thus recorded in the Court minutes:—

“1582-3. November 9th, 1582.—Item: John Hulson and William Craven, of their own assent and consent, have submitted and committed themselves the one to the other, before the Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors to abide such order, judgment, and determination, as well for a shop late in the occupation of the said William Craven, as for all matters in controversy between them from the beginning of the beginning of the world until this day as the said Master and Wardens shall make and determine therein.”

The Master and Wardens at that time to whom this controversy was referred were Charles Hoskyns, Master, and W. Widnell, Olyver Rowe, Hugh Hendley, and Edward Kimpton, the Wardens; and it stands well for their integrity that a young man such as Craven then was, not of the Livery, and of far less influence than Hulson, if age and office give such, should have been willing to trust this personal quarrel for adjudication to those who were Hulson's colleagues, and in frequent official contact with him. However, let it be hoped that Craven's confidence was not misplaced, for their award was in his favour.

“November 26th, 1582.—Item, whereas John Hulson and

¹ Edward Craven was admitted to the freedom on 21st March, 1577, on apprenticeship to Thomas Taylor, but no other entry is found relating to him.

William Craven, citizens and Merchant Taylors of the city of London, holden the 9th November last, before Mr. Charles Hoskyns, Master of the Company (and the four Wardens) as well about a shop lately in the occupation of William Craven, wherein John Hulson had promised that no 'kareeys' should be put for sale before May 1st next, but yet had done so, as for other matters in dispute, in which case Hulson used many evil speeches against Craven, which he was now called upon to prove. Hulson replied 'that those speeches uttered of collier and not otherwise to be proved,' and apologised. He was ordered to pay 10*l.* to Craven, and a release to be drawn between them. Hulson to have unto himself the said shoppe to use at his pleasure."

So it was that in early days citizens got their differences settled without costly litigation "in courts of conciliation" by the governing authorities of their Guild, instead of appealing as they do now to the courts of law.

Craven was admitted to the Livery (on the payment of 1*l.* as his fine) on the 18th June, 1583, and probably after the termination of this tenancy to Hulson he rented a house from the Mercers' Company in the parish of St. Antholin's, and resided there, for he carried on business with the "Parkers" (also members of the Merchant Taylors Company), and on his decease bequeathed these premises to them. Here, "by diligence and frugality—the old virtues of a citizen," he raised himself to wealth and honour, becoming in due course the Chief Magistrate of London.

The first step towards civic eminence was to give service to his Guild; but the only office he appears to have held in the Merchant Taylors Company (except membership in the Court of Assistants) was that of Warden, to which he was elected in July, 1593, two of his colleagues as Wardens being John Harrison, the founder of Great Crosby School, and Leonard Halliday.

It was the time when the plague was raging in the city, and the election dinner was to be suppressed that the cost of it might be sent to the Lord Mayor for distribution to the relief of the poor visited with it.¹ However, this election on the 9th, "tho' secretly made was afterwarde at a private banquet of the Assistants and Liverye of the Company published in the Bachelor's Gallerie," the entry then explaining the reason for this departure from the usual custom "for that there was no dinner kepte at this

¹ Part I, page 188.

election by reason of the plague and by reason of one expresse prohibition sent by the Lord Maior to all Companies of London to forbear any solemn assemblies this yeare and meetings for those occasions the Lord Maior being thereto required by order of the Counsell."

The scheme of benevolence which was engaging the attention of the Court when Craven became Warden was the increase of the Widows' Almshouses in Hog Lane.¹ These had been built by subscription, Craven offering in March, 1593, a contribution of 20*l.*; but now that they were finished, how were the widows, when placed in occupation, to be supported? for no endowment was held by the Company, save for the Almshouses for men. This difficulty Craven met on his part by increasing his donation from 20*l.* to a weekly contribution of 1*s.* 4*d.*, the sum sufficient for the support of one widow.

On the completion of his year's service, he was elected one of the Assistants, for then it was the wise practice of the Court to make this election depend on meritorious service given to the Company in one or more previous years. Thus on the 19th July, 1594, he was made an Assistant, "having the last year served the Company in the place of Second Warden, and did bear and behave himself commendably in the said place."

We should place his marriage as having happened soon after his election to the Court, as on the 18th December, 1597,² he had a daughter baptised at St. Antholin.

The lady who was his wife was Elizabeth the sister of Aldermen Sir William and Sir Thomas Whitmore, and the grand-daughter of Alderman William Bond, who died in 1576, and lies buried in St. Helen's Church.

Subsequent entries up to 1606, would lead to the conclusion that he still continued to reside in that parish, as on 3rd April a son William (who had been baptized there on the 25th November preceding), was buried in the parish.³

His advancement in life continued without check, for in April,

¹ Part I, page 170, and page 232 *ante*.

² Registers of the parish (London, 1883), page 38.

³ *Ibid.*, page 44. The other entries relating to Craven are these:—1583, Nicholas Clarkson, a servant, buried; 1599, January 7th, Elizabeth, a daughter baptized; 1603, July 15th, William, a kinsman, buried; July 22nd, Jane Sanders, a servant, buried; 1604, April 19th, Thomas Craven, a servant to Sir W. Craven, buried; 1605, March 4th, a daughter of Sir W. Craven buried; 1611, July 9th, Anthony Young, a servant, buried.

1600, we find him elected to the office of Alderman for Bishopsgate Ward, and at the midsummer ensuing one of the Sheriffs for the city. This latter election is noticed upon the records of the Company, for (as was usual on such occasions), they voted 30*l.* out of their "common box" for his expenses, and gave him the loan of their plate for his inaugural banquet.

We have already mentioned¹ that Craven was one of the three members of the Court who were knighted by James I soon after his accession to the Throne, and the table² of his attendances from his election as an Assistant in 1594 to his death in 1618, shows how large a share of responsibility he took in directing the affairs of the Company during that period.

But though he was prosperous in London, he did not forget the claims which his county³ or native parish had upon him. Accordingly by deed of 21st May 1605, he conveyed to trustees for Burnsall a parcel⁴ of meadow land with a school house and school buildings, for the education of the poorer children there.

At about the same period (May, 1606) he became the tenant of the Company of part of the Mora estate, in regard to tenter lands used by the clothworkers, and this tenancy continued till the year 1617,⁵ so that he was in that branch of industry almost to the end of his life.

Although his name does not appear in 1599⁶ as an adventurer in the East India Company, or in the Virginian or Ulster plantations, he was no doubt from the date of his knighthood, an important and influential member of the Company. Thus in 1605, when a controversy arose with St. John's College as to their rejection of poor scholars,⁷ objects of White's benevolence, we find him associated with the Master and Wardens as one of the leading men in the Court to wait on the Bishop of Winchester, as the Visitor, to adjust this difference. And again on the occasion of the Company's banquet to James I and Prince Henry in 1607,⁸ when it was thought "convenient that some of the chiefs of the Company should ride to the Prince's Court at Nonsuch to invite

¹ Part I, page 266.

² See note at page 331, *post*.

³ In Peck's *Desiderata* under date of 1604 a scheme for establishing an University at Ripon is printed, with the names of Anthony Ratcliff and William Craven as patrons.—Book 7, page 290.

⁴ Vol. 18, page 62, School Enquiry Commission.

⁵ Court Minutes, pages 155 and 410.

⁶ Lists are set out of the members, page 115, and of the Adventurers, page 123, of Cal. State Papers (E.I.).

⁷ 1 Wilson, page 149.

⁸ Part I, page 283.

his Highness," Sir W. Craven was one of the four members who undertook the service.

It was probably about this time that he removed to Leadenhall Street, for his eldest son, the future peer, who was born in 1608, is said to have been born there. The house¹ formerly belonged to Stephen Kyrton, the relative of Jenyns, then to Alderman Lee, who rebuilt it, then to Craven, after that to the East India Company, and is now the site of the East India Chambers.

In the year 1610 he was elected by his fellow-citizens to the office of Chief Magistrate, and, by order of the King, the Lord Mayor's Show, which had been for some years suspended, was revived. A committee of the Company was therefore appointed "to make preparations against the Lord Mayor (Sir W. Craven) taking his oath at Westminster, with authority to ratify and assess all such brothers of the Batchelors' Company as they shall think sufficient and able to contribute towards the expenses of these preparations; to appoint Batchelors both for 'ffoynes' and 'budge' and gentlemen ushers (otherwise called 'whiffiers') and officers to be employed in like manner, as on former occasions, when there has been a Lord Mayor of the Company, and to disburse money in any way they may think fit. The Lord Mayor to have the nomination of six poor freemen of the Company and the Lady Mayoress four, to receive gowns, caps, and sleeves."

Then followed the usual gift of money which was made to the Lord Mayor by his Guild, a custom which continued until the Corporation, out of its own rental, made an ample provision for the expenses of the office.² The grant was made on the 6th October in these words:—

"Whereas Sir Wm. Craven, Knight and Alderman of London (being a right worthy member and a brother of this society), is lately elected to the great and honourable office of Lord Mayor of this noble city of London for this year next ensuing, the Company hold it fit (according to the custom of this city used in every several Company) to present his Lordship with some gratuity (as a token and demonstration of the Company's love) towards the trimming of his Lordship's house, whereupon, with a general consent and agreement, it was thought fit and so concluded and agreed that there shall be bestowed upon his Lordship the sum of one

¹ See Vol. 3, page 700, Allen's London, and Gent. Mag., Dec., 1784, for a print of it.

² As to the allowances made to the Lord Mayor, see Fairholt's Lord Mayor's Pageants, page 154. Vol. 10, Percy Society (1844).

hundred marks (being the like sum which was lately given to Sir Leonard Hallyday, in the time of his mayoralty), the same to be presented by our Master and Wardens at some fit and convenient time.”¹ The show or pageant is not, that we are aware of, extant.

There was no great event happening while Sir W. Craven held office, but the city was overrun with foreign workmen, lowering, as they do now, the wages of the freemen. This induced the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council to present a memorial to the Privy Council in July, 1611,² praying for protection, and that measures might be taken against the foreigners to secure the native workmen high wages.

In the year following upon his mayoralty the claims of Burnsall were again recognised by Craven, for he repaired and beautified the church, a fact which is preserved in some verses which remain inscribed on the walls of the choir, ending thus :—

“Of that most famous city of London so brighte,
By Sir W. Craven, that bountiful knight,
Borne in the parish of Appletreewick towne,
Who regarded noe cost so the work was well done,”

possibly giving a faithful record of his personal character.

In January, 1610-11, he was elected President of Christ's Hospital, and soon after became one of its benefactors, 1,000*l.* being given by him as “ye good inclination and charitable disposition of one well disposed to this house” who was “not known, neither would willingly have had his name discovered,” but such a secret was not possible, for the advowson of Ugley in Essex was purchased with this sum and freely given to the hospital by Sir William.

We may presume from his retention of the tenter grounds that he continued in the cloth trade, but the issues from the Exchequer³ in 1611, and the early records of the East India Company (1609-15) show that he was engaged as a capitalist lending monies to the Crown, and to the Company on loan⁴ at the current rate of 9*l.* per cent. interest.

In 1613 he made a partial endowment to the President and Fellows of St. John's, Oxford, to whom he had previously given (in

¹ Sir William Bolton, holding office in 1666-7, insisted upon the full payment of 100*l.* from the Merchant Taylors Company, although their rental was destroyed by the Fire. At present each member on election to the Court of his Guild agrees to forego any demand upon its funds should he be elected Sheriff or Lord Mayor.

² Cal. State Papers, page 62.

³ Devon's Exchequer Issues of James I, page 133.

⁴ Cat. State Papers, E. I., Nos. 430, 450, 711, 912, and page 272.

1596) 50*l.* for their library. The then want, as we have already shown,¹ was endowment to replace the spoil taken away from the Church by Henry VIII for the encouragement of the study of Divinity, and to supply this want, and that St. John's might have an advowson to which Fish's or other divinity students could be preferred, Craven purchased the living of Creeke in Northamptonshire from Sir Oliver Cromwell,² who was connected with Lady Joan White, and conveyed it to the President and Fellows of the College. This benefaction as carried out is thus recorded in the Court minutes of the 2nd July, 1613³:—

“Whereas Sir William Craven, Knight and Alderman of London, a worshipful member of this Company bearing a speciall affection to the preferment of the schollers which shall from tyme to tyme be elected from the Merchaunttailors Schoole in St. Lawrence Pountney in London to St. John Baptists Colledge in Oxon, when such tyme as they shall have spent in studie of Divinitie in the said College and shalbe one of the Seignior Fellowes of the same howse, hath purchased of Sir Oliver Cromwell, the Advowson and Patronage of the Church and Parsonage of Creeke in the countie of Northampton, and hath caused the same to be graunted and conveyed to the President and schollers of the said College and their successors for ever, upon trust and confidence that the said President and schollers, as often as the said Church or parsonage shall fall voide, shall electe to the same one of the ten Seignior Fellowes, which was elected from the said Schoole of Merchaunttailors, which conveyance is passed by Indenture Tripartite between Sir Oliver Cromwell on the first parte, the President and Schollers on the second parte and the Company of Merchaunttailors and the said Sir William Craven on the third parte, in regard whereof the Company being made a partie to the purchase and to the Trust, they are to putt theire Co^mon seale to the said Assurance, therefore at this Courte the said Co^mon seale was annexed to two of the parts of the said Assurance to which likewise Sir William Craven hath in the presence of this Assembly put to his hand and seale, and the said Indentures were delivered to the President's servant of St. John's Colledge to be sent down to Oxon to th'end the President and Schollers shall send

¹ Part I, pages 190 and 238.

² Page 174, *ante*.

³ In 1622–3, the living having become void by death, Bishop Laud was presented to it; the Merchant Taylors thereupon wrote to St. John's for their copy of the deed to be sent up to them, and found on its perusal that they had no remedy against the College.—1 Wilson, page 211.

to this Company the thirde counterparte under the Comon seale of St. John's Colledge to remayne in the custodie of this Societie."¹

In December, 1615, Sir W. Craven gave an endowment to the Company for the poor of London, a class, whose claims he recognised as having been an employer profiting by their labour. By indenture of the 20th made with the Company he granted to them and to their successors the "Pope's," or then the Bishop's "Head," in St. Mary Woolnoth, and St. Michael's Cornhill, to pay from the rents thereof a sum not exceeding 140*l.* per annum to such as he should thereafter name.² This he did by his will dated the 9th August, 1616, which at his death was presented to the Court, openly read, and the trusts thereof accepted in these words:—

"At this Court³ was openly read the will and devise of Sir William Craven, deceased, a right worshipful member of the Society and a bountiful benefactor to the same, for the disposing of 140*l.* per annum out of the rents of the Pope's Head Tavern and the shops thereunto belonging, which he made over to this Company in his lifetime, the which his gift was by this Court most lovingly embraced and his devise to be performed by this Company according to his will."

The will is especially interesting as showing the objects whom Craven thought to be most deserving of his benevolence, and from his arrangements we may assume that he had been connected with the woollen trade either as a Tailor or as a Merchant.

First, the Company were to pay 4*l.* a year to each of twenty-four poor aged men, freemen by patrimony or servitude, but not by redemption—a distinction worthy of notice—who should have been householders of good repute and borne scot and lot.

Of these, twenty were to be freemen of the Merchant Taylors Company, seven were to be dressers of woollen cloth, seven were to be Tailors decayed in their eyesight, and the other six of any trade.

The other four were to be of the Clothworkers Company who had been dressers of woollen cloth. If any pensioner should become

¹ In 1614 a controversy arose between the City and the Crown as to the right to the streets, walls, ramparts, ditches, and waste places in and about London, and we find Sir W. Craven as one of the judges who in January put in an answer to the information which had been filed against the Corporation.¹ When the monopoly of the E. I. C. was threatened by the designs of undertakers out of France, Sir W. Craven² was appointed by the Crown with others in February, 1615, to examine all suspected persons, and to bind them over to appear at the Council Table.

² Page 297, note.

³ 1618, July 29th.

¹ Cat. St. P. (Dom.), James I, page 221.

² Cat. St. P. (E. I.), page 912.

disorderly or of evil report he should be dismissed from his pension.

His next provision had reference to the old home, to the place of his birth, and as in his life time he had founded the Grammar School now he directed the Company to pay for ever to the School Master 20*l.* a year, and to the Churchwardens 8*l.* per annum for the School repairs.

The poor of the two London parishes in which he had passed his life were not forgotten. For the poor of St. Antholin and of St. Andrew's Undershaft, he provided fuel for such as have most need, and the Churchwardens, when put in funds by the Merchant Taylors Company, were to be his almoners. It is, perhaps, needless to say that the contract is still carried out by the Merchant Taylors Company, and that it has proved a most beneficial one to them, for though the rents have increased the charges have remained fixed and the surplus is corporate estate.

In the same year it is said that he contributed with his friend Parker (possibly his apprentice) to the restoration of the Church of St. Antholin—another instance of his bounty towards that parish.¹

The next incident would belong rather to the memoir of John Vernon's life, if it were written, than to that of Craven; but the Court minute is worth recording for other reasons besides that of showing the deference then paid to Craven and to those who had held the higher offices of the Corporation.

The occasion was the gift of seven pictures to the Company, which Vernon had made two days before the Master's feast in July, 1616, and which with the Master's leave he had hung up in the parlour where the sittings of the Assistants were usually held. At the Court succeeding on the 26th, this incident is thus recorded:—

“At this Court Mr. John Vernon, heretofore a Worth. M^r. of this Company did deliver to the Assistants that he was soe bould two dayes before our M^r.'s feast to send hither seaven small pictures beside his owne, and with our M^r.'s leave and consent he caused them to be hanged up in this place. He delivered further to the Assistants that the seaven small pictures with something else he did appoynt in his Will to be delivered to the Company after his death condicionally that they would give leave that his picture might hang in some corner of the Parlor to the end that his faythfull true love borne to the Company might be had in remembrance, but since he hath better considered thereof, and therefore thought it good that he now

¹ Seymour's London, Vol. 2, Book 4, page 514.

livinge might know their wor^{ps}. pleasures of their like or dislike touching the hanging of his picture in the place where it doth."

Here he hesitated; for he may have presumed to do what his colleagues might take exception to, and therefore be appealed to them whether he had done rightly.

"He sayd that some of the Assistants might thinke and saye that it was not fitt that soe meane a person as himselfe should have his picture to hang in the Parlor, but that the Parlor should be reserved for the picture of S^r. William Craven, S^r. John Swinnerton, the two Sheriffs, or any other Wor^{ll}. brother of the Company that hereafter may be willinge to have their picture hang there that might better deserve it then himselfe. And further he sayd that he was of the same minde, nevertheless he did not thinke that if any of those Wor^{ll}. persons w^h. he had before named, or any other brother of the Company that might better deserve it than himselfe, he made noe doubt but that they would find a fitter place to hang their pictures in then in the place where his picture hangeth by the doore. And therefore if there were any of the Assistants of the mind which before he had spoken of, he sayd there was noe hurt done, he craved pardon for his bouldnes, he would cause them to be had awaye againe and would dispose of them some other waye."

The question therefore became a personal one and Vernon with that delicacy of feeling, which is the characteristic of a gentleman, retired, that the Court should not be embarrassed by his presence when they decided it.

"He desired that the Master would give him leave to goe aparte to the end the Assistants might deliver their mind freely, and at his coming in againe their myndes being known he would dispose of them accordingly. It was tould him by S^r. William Craven that he should not need to goe apart for he did not thinke that any of the Assistants would dislike of that w^h. was done; but he desired agayne to goe apart saying he was not willing to require the thinge that would be offence or dislike to any of the Company, and soe he went apart."

But there was no doubt about accepting Vernon's gift or in allowing his portrait to remain as he had placed it.

"And being called in againe our M^r. tould him his request was allowed of to the good likinge of the Assistants, and then he required further that the Comon Clarke maye enter into their Court Booke that the seaven small pictures were given by him to the Company, and that his picture hanginge where it doth, was

wth. theire leave and consent. See he hath now given to the Company seaven small pictures paynted upon board:—

“The first is a table with the Armes of England.¹ A picture of King Henry the Eight. A picture of Queene Elizabeth in her parliament robes with the garter upon her left arme.¹

“Fower other pictures of very good workmanshipp two men and two women, one man with a curled head, another old man with a strawne hatt upon his head¹, the picture of a weoman with the heire of her head bound up wth. lace, with a ruby on her head and a chaine of pearle hanging in a ring in her eare w^{ch}. cometh about her necke. The picture of another weoman wth. flowers upon her forehead.¹

“And by the last fowre pictures expressed in the corner at the coming in of the doore there hangeth M^r. Vernon his picture, a Wor^{ll}. M^r. of this Company, with the leave consent of all the Assistants who were very willing to have it removed to another place, but he desireth that it might remayne where it doth because he would give place to any other Wor^{ll}. brother of this Company that hereafter maye be willing to have theire picture hang in the sayd parlor that may better deserve it than himselfe.”

These pictures appear to have been the first ever possessed by the Company and some of them remain hanging in the hall premises—possibly too little appreciated.

In the year 1617, Sir W. Craven became the custodian at his house in Leadenhall Street, of Lady Elizabeth Coke (or as she continued to call herself Lady Hatton). She was the granddaughter of Lord Burghley, and before her marriage with Sir E. Coke, the widow of Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord Chancellor, and “a woman more remarkable for high spirit than for any female virtue.”² They led a sad life together. In May Chamberlain wrote to Carleton “Lord Coke and his Lady have great wars at the Council Table; she disclaims so bitterly against him that it is said Burbage³ could not have acted better.”⁴ On the 24th, Lord Carew and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were deputed by the Council to report on their case, and on the 2nd June their differences were reported as accommodated; but it was only for

¹ Not now in possession of the Company; possibly destroyed by the fire of London, 1666.

² Aikin's James I, Vol. 2, page 63, *et seq.*

³ The actor referred to, Part I, page 235, *ante.*

⁴ Cal. State Papers, page 469.

a season, for they soon broke out stronger than ever. At that time, the bitter strife between Coke and Bacon was raging at Court, Coke being in disgrace and the fortunes of Bacon in the ascendant. To recover favour with the King through the influence of the Earl of Buckingham, Coke proposed the marriage of his own daughter, having a rich dowry, to the Duke's brother John, whereupon Lady Elizabeth, acting in opposition to her husband, secretly conveyed the young lady away to Sir E. Withipole's house, near Oatlands. Before a search warrant had been issued from the Council Office Coke ascertained her place of concealment, and went with his sons and brought his daughter away by force.

At the instance of Bacon, Lady Elizabeth brought the subject before the Star Chamber, but ultimately she herself was brought before the Court and placed with Sir W. Craven for safe custody. Such a woman must have been a somewhat unwelcome visitor. On the 11th October, Chamberlain writes: "Lady Hatton lies still at Sir W. Craven's, crazy in body and sick in mind. There is a commission to the Lord Keeper, the Lord Archbishop, Secretary Winwood, and I know not who else to examine her of conspiracy, disobedience, and many other misdemeanours, and to proceed against her according as they shall find cause; but her sickness stands her in some stead for the time, and if she came again to herself it may be that in space there will grow grace. But sure she is in the wrong way now, and so animated towards her husband that it is verily thought she would not care to ruin herself to overthrow him."¹

However, the marriage having taken place and Coke being restored, notwithstanding Bacon's opposition, to the Council Board matters did not go to extremities against her, for, indeed, to obtain for the bride her full fortune the mother's consent was needed, and to procure this another course of policy had to be followed. "It was told me (writes Chamberlain on the 31st October) that the Earl of Buckingham meant to go himself and fetch her as it were in pomp from Sir W. Craven's where she had been so long committed,² and bring her to the King, who upon a letter of submission is graciously affected towards her. But another cause is that seeing her yielding and as it were won to give allowance to the late marriage he will give her all the contentment and countenance he can in hope of the great portion she may bestow upon her daughter."¹

¹ Spedding's Bacon, Vol. 6, page 256.

² Other instances of committal have been noticed in White's life, page 121, and Halliday's, page 237, note.

This policy was carried out "on All Saints Day,¹ the streets being full with the Lord Mayor's passage to St. Paul's, the Earl of Buckingham, accompanied with the Marquis of Hamilton, the Lord Compton, the Lord Hay, and I know not how many more to the number of twelve coaches went to fetch Lady Hatton from Sir W. Craven's and brought her to her father's (Lord Exeter) at Cecil House, in the Strand,² "where," adds Chamberlain (from whose letter this is an extract), "she hath continued ever since, save that on Tuesday she went with little state to the Court."

To whom Sir W. and Lady Craven were indebted for this visitor is not shown, but on the 4th November,³ the King wrote thanking them for the good usage and entertainment which Lady Elizabeth had received during the time of her abode at their house by his commandment, and to assure them that no other similar charge should be imposed on them.

There is little left to be written, except to refer to the disposition which Craven made of his vast estate.

The testator's will is often the reflection of his life, and such it was in Craven's case. Throughout his life he was liberal and bountiful, by his second will left an ample provision for many relations and dependents. He was not a man to "heap up riches not knowing who should gather them," nor to provide only for his wife and children, his kindred generally came within the range of his bounty, and the servants by whose labour he had acquired wealth were generously thought of. In contrasting the lives and wills of White and Craven, it would seem that Craven's commercial success had been the greater. Both died in business, but Craven's will disposes of larger sums, and he gives greater legacies to his servants, who were to wind up his estate. Then again his remission of debts was larger than White's, and possibly even larger than FitzWilliam's,⁴ and for many years after the period in which these guildsmen traded, there was no Statute of Limitations in favour of the debtor, and the penalty which he incurred for the non-payment of any debt was personal imprisonment in a gaol⁵, where he had to maintain himself as best he could do, until death released him. For many years past, indeed from 1758, the debtor imprisoned for a sum under 100*l.* by the surrender of his estate

¹ Part I, page 27.

² Cal. State Papers (James I), 6 and 7.

³ *Ib.*, No. 5.

⁴ Page 52, *ante*.

⁵ Part I, page 161, and Hooper's Case, page 141, *ante*.

could oblige the creditor to discharge him or to allow to him 2s. 6d. a week for maintenance, but till the 32 George II, cap. 28, became law, no relief whatever was available to the prisoner. Every act of remission, therefore, was an act of mercy in favour of a debtor who might otherwise be ruined by those having no power of mercy, the executors of the deceased creditor.

Sir W. Craven's (second) will¹ is dated the 16th July, 1617, and opens with this preface. "In the name of God, Amen! I Sir William Craven, Knt., and Alderman of London, being whole in Body and of good and perfect Memory, (Thanks be given to Almighty God for the same) weighing with my self the incertainty and instability of this mortal Life, and that every Man born in this mortal Worlde is subject to Death, and yet uncertain of the time, place, manner and means, when, where, and how the same shall happen unto him: Purposing for the Honour of God, and quiet of my Mind, to set down such Order and Stay for the disposing of such worldly Riches as it hath pleased Almighty God of his bountiful Goodness to give unto me, be it either in Goods, Chattels, Debts or ready Money; So as the same may be quietly enjoyed by those to whom I shall bequeath it; Do make, ordain, and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner and form as followeth."

Then follows this precatory sentence:—

"First, And before all things I commend my Soul into the Hands of God, my Creator, trusting most assuredly to be saved by the only Death, Passion and Merits of Jesus Christ: Beseeching the most Blessed and Glorious Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, to have Mercy upon me, and to pardon and forgive me all my Sins; so that after this transitory Life ended, I may arise with the Elect, and be made partaker of the Glory of God in the Kingdom of Heaven, and Life everlasting. Which I most humbly beseech Almighty God to grant unto me for his Mercies sake, Amen."

He gives directions for his burial:—

"And I Will, that my Body be decently buried in the Parish Church of St. Andrew's Undershaft; so near the place where my well beloved Friend, Mr. William Parker, lyeth buried, as conveniently may be," and for the avoiding of Tumults, which be usually occasioned at Burials, I will that nothing be given to idle Persons in

¹ *Strype's Stow*, Book 2, page 68. The witnesses were John Parker, John Green, William Gibson, and Arthur Juxon.

the Street, on the Day of my Funeral. But instead thereof, I give and bequeath the Sum of 100*l.* to such parishes in London, as my Executors and Overseers shall appoint: Willing the same may be distributed on the Day of my Burial amongst such poor People within each Parish as it shall be appointed unto as the Parson, Church Wardens and Overseers of the Poor shall think to stand most in need.

At a later part he gives these legacies for gowns and funeral dinners:—

“Item, I give and bequeath to an hundred poor Men, every one of them a black Gown, to accompany me to my Burial, and 12*d.* a piece to pay for their dinners.

“Item, I give and bequeath to Mr. Richard Mason, Parson of St. Andrew’s Undershaft, the Sum of 10*l.* and a black Gown, if he be at my Burial, and Parson of the said Parish.

“And I give to the Parishes of St. Giles and St. Sepulchre’s near London, and to St. Saviour’s, St. Olave’s, St. Thomas, and St. George’s Parishes in Southwark, to each of them 10*l.* a piece to be distributed amongst the Poor of the said Parishes on the Day of my Burial, at the Discretion of the Parson, Church Wardens, &c. in each Place.

“Item, I give and bequeath to the Treasurer of Christ’s Hospital one 100 Nobles, for to provide a dinner for such Governours of the four Hospital, as shall accompany me to my Burial.

“Item, I give and bequeath to the Master and Wardens of the Company of Merchant Taylors in London, the sum of one 100 Nobles, to provide a Dinner for the said Company on the Day of my Funeral.

“Item, I give and bequeath for a Dinner to be provided for the Parishioners of St. Antholines on the Day of my Burial 100 Nobles.

“Item, I will that a Dinner be provided for my Neighbours and Friends at my House in Leadenhall Street, on the Day of my Funeral.”

After the usual directions for the payment of his debts, he disposes of his estate, thus:—

“Item, I give and bequeath to my son William Craven, my Chain of Gold, and my Seal Ring.

“Item, I give and bequeath to my well beloved Wife Elizabeth (over and beside one equal third Part of my whole Estate, being due

by the Custom of London) the Lease of my House in the Parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, and the Remainder of Years unexpired in the same, during her natural Life; she paying every half Year the Rent due to the Landlord, and keeping the House in repair. And after her decease, the said Lease to remain to my Son William. And I also give to my said Wife all my Plate, Silver Vessels, Jewels, Brass, Pewter, Linen, Bedding, Hangings, Carpets, Chests, Presses, Tables, Chairs, Cushions, Stools, and other my Household Stuff whatsoever, as a Token and Remembrance of my Good Will.

“Item, one other third Part of my Estate, I give and bequeath amongst my Children equally to be divided amongst them. And if any of them do depart this Life in their Minority, my Will and Mind is, that the Portions of them so deceasing shall be equally divided amongst the other that shall be living.

“Item, I give and bequeath to St. John Evangelist in Watling Street, where I was first apprentice, the Sum of 100*l.* of lawful Money &c., for a Stock, for the Reparations of the said Church: And to be employed at the discretions of the Parson and Church Wardens of the said Parish for the time being.

“Item, I give and bequeath to the Poor inhabiting within the Town of Tiverton¹ in Devonshire, the Sum of 50*l.* to be divided amongst them, at the Discretion of the Maier and Aldermen there for the time being.”

“Item, I clearly forgive Mr. Nicholas Felton, D.D., all the money that he oweth me.”

Nicholas Felton was the Rector of St. Antholin, and a Prebend of St. Paul's, when this legacy was given. He was the son of a seafaring man at Yarmouth, and he had as scholar—then Fellow and afterwards Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge—worked his way up in the world, possibly by the kindly aid of Sir William. Ultimately, after Craven's death, he was raised to the Bishopric of Ely, which he held with St. Antholin Church, where he was buried under the communion table, in October, 1626. He was (it is said) “A great scholar, a powerful preacher, with no less profit to others than credit to himself. He had a sound head and a sanctified heart; beloved by God and all good men; very hospitable to all, and charitable to the poor.”

Dr. Felton must have been well known to the Court of the Company from his position at Pembroke, and when Robert Dowe

¹ No county history that I have consulted throws any light on this gift.

established the school probation in 1607 he was associated with Dr. Overall in recommending its adoption.¹

The poor prisoners are next thought of:—

“Item, I give and bequeath to the poor Prisoners in Newgate, Ludgate, and the two Compters, the Sum of 40*l.* to wit, 10*l.* to each House: To be payed by 5*l.* at a Payment, viz., at Christmas and Easter; or at which of them shall first happen after my decease. I give and bequeath to the poor prisoners in the Fleet, King’s Bench, and Marshalsea, 15*l.* of lawful English money, that is to say, 5*l.* to each house; to be paid at Christmas or Easter, which shall first happen after my decease.”

Then the poor children in Christ’s Hospital, thus:—

“Item, I give and bequeath to the poor Children in Christ’s Hospital in London, the Sum of a 100*l.* to be payed to the Treasurer of the same Hospital within six Months after my decease.”

And afterwards the sick:—

“Item, I give and bequeath towards the Relief and Curing of sick, sore, and diseased Persons in St. Bartholomew’s Hospital in London, the Sum of 100*l.*, &c.

“Item, I give and bequeath to the Hospital of Bridewell, for and towards the setting of sturdy Beggars, idle and vagrant Persons on Work, the Sum of an 100*l.*

“Item, I give and bequeath towards the Relief of sick, sore, and diseased Persons in St. Thomas’s Hospital in Southwark, the Sum of 100*l.*”

Collateral relations and friends appear not to have been forgotten:—

“Item, I give and bequeath unto my loving Brother Anthony Craven of Darly in Yorkshire, and to his Son William Craven, 1500*l.*, of lawful, &c., equally betwixt them, to be bestowed in Lands and Tenements for them and their Heirs for ever, so soon after my decease as conveniently may be, with consent of my Executors, and advice of Mr. Peter Benson, if he be then living. The Money to be payable at all times upon two Months warning after conclusion of the Bargain for the Lands aforesaid. And in the mean space I will, that my Executors pay to my said Brother Anthony and to his Son William Craven, or to which of them shall be living, the Sum of 85*l.* by the Year: The first 85*l.* to be paid immediately after my decease. And so every Year the like until the said Land be bought, as aforesaid.

¹ 1 Wilson, page 168.

“Item, I give to Ellen Ledam, Daughter to my Brother Anthony Craven, 100*l*. Item, I give and bequeath to the other three Daughters of my Brother A. C. to each of them 200*l*. a piece of lawful, &c. to be payed them at the Days of their Marriages, or Ages of Twenty one, which shall first happen. And in the mean space I will, that my Executors do pay to every one of them 10*l*. a Year towards their Maintenance, for so long time as my said Nieces Legacies shall remain in their Hands.

“Item, I give and bequeath to my Cousin Robert Craven, Son to my Brother Henry Craven, of Appletreewick, the Sum of 500*l*. to be payed him at the end of one Year after my decease.

“Item, I give and bequeath to Nicholas Rayner, Son to my Sister Elizabeth Rayner, 200*l*. to be payed him at the end of one Year after my decease. Item, I give and bequeath to Bettrice Hodgson, Daughter to my Sister Elizabeth Rayner, 200*l*. to be payed her at the end of one Year after my decease. Item, I give and bequeath to Anne Bayne, one other of the Daughters of my said Sister, 200*l*. to be paid her at the end, &c.

“Item, I give and bequeath to my Cousin Anne Richardson’s two children, each of them 50*l*. a piece, to be payed, &c., to my Cousin Nicolas Rayner for the use of the said Children; He giving Security for the Payment of the same, at the Days of their Marriages, or Ages of Twenty one Years, which shall first happen. And in the mean time, he to allow them 5*l*. a Year betwixt them towards their Maintenance, in consideration for the forbearance of their Money.

“Item, I give and bequeath to my Cousin Tho. Craven of, &c., 20*l*. Item, &c. to Jane Young of, &c. and one A. Robinson, Wife of Thorp, and one Crosts Rafe, being three Sisters of my Cousin Anth. Craven of Appletreewick 10*l*. a piece. To Robert Son of W. Yong 20*l*. To Robert Ebstey 10*l*. To Tho. Preston, Son of William Preston of A. 5*l*. To Mr. Jo. Popham, and to Mr. William Bregden, the two Parsons of Bursal Church, to each of them 1*l*. a piece, as a remembrance of my Good Will. To my Cousin R. Cook of Beaston 10*l*. To the poor People inhabiting in the Parish of Burnsall, being such as use to come to Burnsall Church to Bury and Baptize, the Sum of 50*l*. payable at two times, viz., at Christmas and Easter, or at which of them shall first happen after my decease. And to be distributed amongst the said Poor at the Discretion of Robert Craven and Nicholas Raynor.

“To Anne Holden, sometime my Servant, 60*l*. To J. H. Brother to the said A. H. 40*l*. To Mr. Peter Benson of Knares-

borough, 10*l*. To my Brother-in-law Mr. William Whitmore, 50*l*. and to him and his Wife black Gowns, if they be in London at my Funeral. To my Brother in law Mr. George Whitmore, 50*l*. and to him and his Wife black Gowns, if, *ut supra*. Also black Gowns and 10*l*. a piece to his Sister in law Mrs. Anne Barbar, and her Husband Fran. Barbar. To his Sister in law Dame Margaret Grobham, and Sir Richard Grobham her Husband. To his Sister in law Dame Mary Mountagu, and Sir Charles Mountagu, her Husband. To his Sister in law Mrs. Frances Weild, and Joh. Weild her Husband. To his Sister in law Mrs. Jane Still, and her Husband Nath. Still.

“To his Cousin Sir Fran. Jones and his Wife, to Mr. Ric. Wright, Merchant Taylor, Tho. Chapman, Tho. Paradine, Peter Towers, Richard Heath, Treasurer of Christ’s Hospital; to some 5*l*. to some 10*l*. and black Gowns; and a legacy of 500*l*. to John Parker, Merchant Taylor, and 500*l*. to Robert Parker, and a bequest of the lease of his house situate in the Parish of St. Antholin’s, held of the Mercers Company, for their lives, or for the residue of the lease, and in case they died before the expiration of the lease, then to his son William Craven.

His servants come in for a share of his bounty :—

“To Thomazin Hayward, 50*l*. William Milburne, 50*l*. forgiving him all such Debts as he owed him. William Gibson, 1,000*l*. if he be dwelling with him at the time of his decease, to be paid him within the compass of five Years, leaving to his Executors notwithstanding to give him some reasonable content for his Pains to be taken in their Service. To Thomas Locker, 50*l*. John Cook, 100*l*. to Francis Stringer, 50*l*. if they be living with him at the time of his Death.

“To his Servant, Edward Breghe, 30*l*., Mary J., 30*l*. To all other his Servants that be dwelling with him at the time of his decease, both Men and Maids, which be not already remembred in his Will, to every one of them for every Year they had served him 40*s*. and so after the rate so much as it shall come unto.”

He then provided for his children by legacies of 20,000*l*. to his eldest son and 5,000*l*. to each of the other two sons, to be laid out in land, but to his two daughters smaller sums were given.

“Item, I give, &c. to my Daughter Elizabeth Craven, 500*l*. of lawful Money, &c. to be payed her at the Day of her Marriage or Age of 21. Item, To my Daughter Mary Craven 500*l*. *ut supra*.”

Then he disposed of his residue to his wife and son William,

¹ Let as the “Great House and one tent” for £13 3*s*. 4*d*., belonging to the Dauntsey trust and now part of the site of Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

whom he made executors, and his loving brethren the two Whitmores and his good friend John Parker, the overseers.

Sir William made a codicil to his will dated 17th July, 1618,¹ whereby he directed the legacy of 1,000*l.* to be paid to William Gibson within one year instead of within five years; and to enable him to carry on business he devised that a loan of 3,000*l.*, free from interest, should be made to him for five years, and after that time the testator gave the 3,000*l.* to his son William Craven if he should be then living, but if dead then to his sons John and Thomas. He also gave the following additional legacies to his servants:—200*l.* to John Cook (to be paid by instalments in two years next after his death; 20*l.* to Edward Breghe; a legacy of 10*l.* to Thomas Jones; and additional legacies of 200*l.* to John Parker, Merchant Taylor; 100*l.* to Robert Parker; and 100*l.* to John Cook, in addition to legacies by will and this codicil, and so much money to Mary J., maid servant, as with the former legacy would make up 50*l.*

Probably one of the last public acts of Sir William's life was laying the first stone of Alders-gate on Monday, the 26th May, 1618. It happened that his relative, William Parker, lately deceased, and also one of the benefactors to the poor of London,² gave 1,000*l.* for the rebuilding of this gate, which was to be paid in five instalments at different stages of the work, as 200*l.* on taking down the first stone of the *old*, and 200*l.* on laying the first stone of the *new* building. Either because Craven was of the Guild or Parker's relation, or a notable man in the city, he was appointed to lay this stone in the presence of the civic authorities.³

His last attendance at the Merchant Taylor's Court was on the 1st July following, and we may assume that soon after he was seized with mortal sickness, as on the election day of the 13th he was absent, and his death was reported on the 29th, and his first will openly read to the Court.

The date of his burial was the 11th August, and the officiating Minister, "Henric Mason, Persona," who therefore earned the legacy which Craven gave to him. It was (as Chamberlain writing to Carleton describes it) "a great funeral, where there were above 500 mourners."⁴

Those whom he left to survive him were his wife, with three

¹ The codicil was witnessed by John Elliott and James Browning.

² Memorials, page 310.

³ Seymour's London, Book I, page 19.

⁴ Cal. State Papers, August 15th, 565.

sons and two daughters, all very young. They did not reside long in the old house, for in 1620 it was leased to the East India Company. In 1624 his widow died and was buried in St. Andrew's, having previously by her will bequeathed 200*l.* to the Company for the purchasing of land and tenements for the better supplying and maintaining the charitable uses limited by her husband's will.

His sons all died without issue, but two lived to become Peers of the Realm. "William, his eldest son," having been trained in the armies of Gustavus Adolphus and William, Prince of Orange, became one of the most distinguished soldiers of his time. He was one of those gallant Englishmen who served the unfortunate King of Bohemia from a spirit of romantic attachment to his beautiful consort (the sister of Charles I), and his services are generally supposed to have been privately rewarded with her hand after her return to England in widowhood. Thus (adds Dr. Whitaker) the son of a Wharfedale peasant, matched with the sister of Charles I, a remarkable instance of that providence which "raiseth the poor out of the dust, and setting him among princes, even the princes of his people."¹ He was created an earl, and continued his connection with the Merchant Taylors Company until his death. Thus, on July 23rd, 1633, Lord Craven (as he had become such) "lovingly dined with the Company," and signified his desire to be a member, in regard to the Company's respect unto him, and that his father was free of the Company, "whereupon (continues the entry) his Lordship was admitted into the freedom of the Company."

He subsequently was created an Earl, and had his mansion at Caversham destroyed by the rebels, but ultimately he lived on a spot now Craven Street, Strand, and during the plague of London in 1665 was conspicuous for the aid which he bestowed upon the sick, for while others fled he remained at his post of duty during this visitation. In 1687 he gave to the parish of St. James an estate to be used as hospital or pest-house for plague sufferers, the site of which is still distinguishable by the name of Craven Hill Gardens.

In September, 1672, he asked the Merchant Taylors Company the favour of their electing a candidate named by him for pension under his late father's endowment, but as "the dreadful fire" had destroyed the houses (in Pope's Head Alley) out of the rents of which the pensioners were paid, the Company claimed exemption

¹ History of Craven, page 438.

from present payment by the decree of the Fire Commissioners, circumstances which were explained to the Earl and no election was made.¹

The Court records for the year 1692 show that on June 15th he was chosen for the mastership for the ensuing year, and some members of the Court (Sir Edward Clarke, Sir Thomas Helton, the Wardens) were appointed to wait upon him for his acceptance. Their report to the Court on the June 22nd was, however, to the effect that the Earl declined to serve, but no fine seems to have been imposed upon him, and another member was chosen for the mastership.

Earl Craven died on April 9th, 1697, without issue, upwards of eighty-eight years of age, and was buried at Binlay, near Coventry. It may be mentioned (though not as facts connected with the Company), that he was the officer in command of the King's Guard at Whitehall, to whom Prince William of Orange addressed his letter of December 15th, 1688, ordering them to leave their quarters that the Prince's Dutch troops might occupy Whitehall.²

The second son John, was created Baron Craven, of Ryton, Salop, on the 21st March, 1642, and by will in 1647 gave part of his property to endow what are now known as the Craven scholarships at the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the residue to redeem British slaves seized by the Barbary States. He died in 1650 without issue. The seizures of slaves having long ceased, the Court of Chancery in 1819 applied this part of the fund to increase the scholarships, which are so highly prized as a reward.

The third son Thomas died also without issue, and Sir William's daughter Elizabeth married Percy Herbert, Lord Powis; and his daughter Mary married Thomas, the son of Lord Keeper Coventry, and induced her husband by deed of 10th July, 1636,³ to establish a charity for children of the parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Antholin, which continue to be administered (as best they can, though the times are strangely altered) by the Master and Wardens of the Company.

As to apprentices, it is perhaps a remarkable fact that, during

¹ By decree of the Fire Court in 29th July, 1672, the pensions were abated when the rents were lost by the fire of 1666, which burnt down the "Pope's Head Tavern."

² See his life, *Collin's Peerage*, by Bridges (1812), vol. v, pages 447-54.

³ *Memorials*, page 318.

Craven's long commercial life, only three are to be found, viz.: William Wilborne, who was admitted to the freedom on the 17th May, 1588; John Wilkes, on the 12th January, 1595; and Robert Parker, probably the legatee on the 18th May, 1601.

One of his servants, John Cooke, who was an attesting witness to the will of 1616, and a legatee under the will of 1617, after his master's decease, got Mr. Secretary Calvert to recommend him "as Lady Craven's man," for the freedom of the East India Company,¹ which, after some demur on the part of the Court, was granted to him (*gratis*), on the 20th November, 1618,² and he was admitted on the 1st July, 1619.³

Thus ends the record that we have of the generous Sir W. Craven, a worthy father to a noble race. Whatever else he may have been, he was a "loving brother of the Mysterie," for when such labour was wholly gratuitous and his own trade needed his attention, he was from the day of his appointment as Warden in July, 1593, to that of his mortal sickness in July, 1618 (quarter of a century), seldom absent from any meeting of the Court. From experience thus gained he was a thorough believer in the purity of Guild administration of that period,⁴ for in making his disposition to the Company in favour of the London poor, by his first will of 1616 he writes thus:—

"And forasmuch as it hath pleased God to direct me in the choice of the same Master and Wardens of the said Company of Merchant Taylors to see the execution and performance of this my will concerning the uses aforesaid, a long experience of their fidelity performed in the discharge of the wills and devises of others by whom they have been put in trust, myself being a brother of the same Company, and an eye-witness of their care and tenderness in the performance in the will and devises of the deceased, do heartily pray to God to continue the same and like care to the said Company from one generation and succession to another as I have seen in my time performed by them, so I doubt not that by God's grace,⁴ of the continuance of the payment and limitations by me appointed as aforesaid, to be holden and kept for ever, the which God grant for his mercies sake."

It is a noticeable feature that none, save Richard Hilles, of the Guildsmen whose lives we have brought under notice were citizens by *birth*. They were brought as boys from far off country homes

¹ 1619, May 21 (669).

² Page 230.

³ Page 340.

⁴ See also Part I, page 168.

to serve as apprentices and initiated members of a London trade fraternity. The Guild stood out strongly before them, and how much of the good or evil of their future life depended on its influence? "The great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined." Such the Guilds were.¹ "If," continues Lord Bacon, "the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and compound and collegiate, is far greater, for their example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth—so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation." The lives of these worthies were given to their Guild, and often, where they had no near relations, their wealth. "Living peaceably in their habitations they were honoured in their generations and were the glory of their times."

TABLE OF COURT ATTENDANCES.

(In continuation of that on page 213, *ante*.)

Robert Dowe, at all meetings up to 30th March, 1612, save those marked *. Leonard Halliday at those meetings marked †. Sir W. Craven at all meetings from July, 1593, to July 1, 1618, save those marked ‡.

- 1587 February 3, 10, 24, March 6.
 1588 June 18, 26, July 1, 10†, 17†, August 7†, 9*†, 17*†, 28*†, September 8†, November 6*†, February 5†, March 8†, 19*†.
 1589 April 16*†, 29†, May 6*†, June 3†, 10*†, July 9*†, 14†, October 23†, November 25, December 16, 20†, March 24.
 1590 April 14, May 9, 22†, 30*†, June 17*†, July 1, 13†, August 8†, October 8*†, December 15, January 26†, March 2, 19†, 23, 30.
 1591 May 15, June 9†, 15, 23, 30†, July 10†, 12, August 28, September 28†, October 22, November 13, December 8, January 19†, 20†, March 3, 22.
 1592 April 4†, May 11, 24, July 5†, 10† August, 2, 12, 28, September 16, 26, October 6, December 2, 20, January 26, February 17, March 9.
 1593 April 28, May 15†, June 19, 23, July 3, 9†, August 29†, December 13†, 18†, January 23†, February 27†, March 16†, 19†.
 1594 May 15†, June 8†, 20†, July 8†, 19†, August 28, September 3, 17†, 23†, October 12, 19, 26, December 7*†, 17*, January 7†, 18, February 22†, March 5†, 17, 26.
 1595 April 9*, May 3, 14, 30, 31†, June 21, July 8, 14, 26*, 30†, August 28, September 17*, 24, October 6*, 11†, November 5*, 14†, December 9†, 16†, January 31, March 15, 25.
 1596 March 29, May 12†, June 9†, 11†, 14, 18, 24, July 3, August 9, 12†, 28, September 25, 27, November 6*, December 7, 9, 14†, January 15*, 16, February 26*, March 14, 22*, 25.
 1597 April 16, May 25, June 11, 22, 27, August 10†, 15, 29, September 27, October 2, 17, November 18†, 21†, December 3†, 19, January 31†, March 4†, 11†, 21†, 25†.

¹ Vol. 1, page 153.

- 1598 April 5, 8*, 29†, May 13, 27, 31, June 9†, 11, 23, July 7, 10, 31††, August 2†, 5*, 14†, 2 †, October 3*, 22, December 12, January 27, March 3.
- 1599 March 26†, April 24, May 2, 19, June 19†, July 7*, 17, August 28, September 1†, 19, October 2, 6, 20, November 10, 22, December 8, 10†, January 9, 12†, 19, February 16†, March 8†, 17†.
- 1600 April 5, 12†, 22†, 24, June 11, 14†, 21†, July 2†, 7†, August 13†, 28, October 20†, 21, November 11†, December 8*†, 15, June 7†, February 10†, March 12†, 26†, 28†.
- 1601 May 12†, 19, June 11, 17†, July 3†, 13†, August 8†, 2††, October 3†, 12, 14*, 30, December 5†, 7†, 12*†, 16†, 23††, January 27†, February 27†.
- 1602 April 24, May 8, June 5, 11†, 12, July 10†, 12, 28†, August 21, 28, September 18†, 27†, October 2†, 19†, December 4, 13†, 18, February 5*††, March 2*.
- 1603 April 9*, 20††, June 1, 18, July 5†, 11*†, December 3†, 17††, January 28†, March 7†, 28.
- 1604 March 27, 31†, May 12, 22*†, June 16, 19†, July 16†, 30, August 7*, 11, 13, 28, September 5†, 26, October 27††, December 15†, 18†, January 19, March 19†.
- 1605 April 16†, May 4*, June 19†, July 6, 13, 15†, 22†, 24†, August 12, 14†, 22†, 28†, September 23†, 30†, October 12†, 19, November 8*, December 4, 18*, January 25*, February 22*.
- 1606 March 26*, May 10*, 17*, June 14†, July 2, 9, 14, August 2, 12, 28, October 6, November 8, December 15††, January 14, February 11, March 16*.
- 1607 April 18*†, May 18, June 11, 15†, 27, July 6†, 7†, 9, 15†, 16†, 17, 20†, August 8†, 12†, 28, September 26, December 7†, January 9*, February 20†, March 9, 21†, 24.
- 1608 May 30, June 27, July 5†, 11†, 18†, August 8, 15†, September 7*†, October 7, November 3†, 19†, December 3, 6†, 17†, January 5, February 6, 10, March 13†.
- 1609 March 31, April 29†, May 22†, 26†, 29†, June 21, 22†, July 5, 17†, August 14†, 28, 29, September 23, October 9†, 26, December 9, January 15†, February 12, March 3†, 10†, 24.
- 1610 April 2†, 4, 16, May 7, 23, June 6, 20, July 14, 16†, 28†, August 2†, 7†, 28†, October 15††, 30†, 31†, December 3†, March 4†, 8†, 18†.
- 1611 June 14†, July 10†, 15††, 19†, 24†, August 12†, September 9††, October 7†, November 27*, January 27, March 2, 24*†.
- 1612 March 30, May 8,¹ 18*, 25, June 17, July 8, 13, August 12, 28.
- 1613 May 1, 10, June 17, July 2, 12, August 9, 16, 28, September 4, October 15, 20, January 14, February 7, March 18.
- 1614 April 11, May 6, 30, June 11, July 1, 11, August 29, September 9, 23, October 3, December 12, March 18.
- 1615 April 4, May 13, June 10, 21, July 10, August 4, 11, 28, September 1, 11, 22, October 16, November 18, December 11, 20, January 29, March 4, 18.
- 1616 April 19, May 27, June 12, July 3, 12, 15, 26, August 12, 28, October 2, 14, 18, December 9, 16, January 29, March 7.
- 1617 March 31, May 9, June 25, July 4, 13, 17, 21, August 14, 28, October 6, November 3, 22, December 15, January 26, March 6.
- 1618 May 8, June 8, July 1.

¹ Arrangements for Dowe's funeral.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LOVING BROTHER OF THE MYSTERY,
JOHN SPEED.¹

Speed a contemporary of Stow, and Freeman in 1580, p. 332.—Presents his maps in 1600, p. 332.—Applies for lease of 51, Fenchurch Street, p. 332.—Queen Elizabeth's regard for Lovell, p. 333.—Speed introduced and his application postponed, p. 333.—Speed's negotiation with Dr. White for the Mora Estate in 1614, p. 333.—Dr. White's connection with the Merchant Taylors Company (note), p. 333.—Speed's house in Moorfields, p. 334.—Renewal of lease and acquisition of garden, p. 334.—Grant of lease thereof, 1618, residence and death there, p. 334.—Renewal of lease to Dr Speed in 1632, p. 335.—Ib. to Speed of St. John's, Oxford, in 1652, p. 335.

CONTEMPORARY with Stow, though somewhat of a later date, was this worthy, whose connection with the Company we shall briefly give.

The family of John Speed is said to have come from Farington, in Cheshire, but our books show that John Speede (presumably the father of the historian) was admitted to the freedom of the Merchant Taylors Company, by apprenticeship to William Sparke, on April 5th, 1556, and that the historian was admitted to the freedom as : "Speade John per John Speade, 10th Sept., 1580."

Speed, described as "Summus et eruditus antiquarius," is said to have been taken from his shop-board by Sir Fulk Greville, and supported by him in his study of English history and antiquities. He presented a copy of his maps to the Company in 1600. Thus on 21st October, "It is agreed that provision shalbe made for curtens for the Queen's Armes in the Hall and for the Mappes latelie given to this Companie by Mr. Speede, a lovinge brother of this house."

In March of the following year he appeared as a suitor to the Company for a lease of 51, Fenchurch Street, "whose humble suite the Company much respect, as well the regard that he is a brother of this Company, as also because he is a man of very rare and ingenious capacitie in drawing and setting forthe of mapps and genealogies and other very excellent inventions, and by three several mappes of his own invention, which he freely gave unto

¹ I have added some incidents of this life of this guildsman—but the period of it lies beyond that which is embraced in the "Early History."

this Company, Maie appearse." But unfortunately for the success of Speed's suit, Queen Elizabeth, by letter from Secretary Wyndebanke of January 21st, 1602, made request that a lease of the same house might be granted to Thomas Lovell (one of her household), whose mother-in-law, Widow Bady, was the tenant. "Being desirious, with a loving mind, freely to satisfy her Majesty's request," the lease was granted to Lovell, but Speed was sent for and told of her Majesty's letter, "who had not written" (as the entry continues) to the Company "during the remembrance of our Asistants here present (the last request being by letter dated May, 15th, 1579, for a lease in favour of William Sparke), yet it is hoped that this will not be any precedent to others to undertake the lyke course."¹

He appears next as a negociator for a new lease of the Mora Prebendal Estate,² held of St. Paul's Chapter by the Merchant Taylors Company, the renewal of which was of some importance to the Company in regard to their clothworking members. The Court thought favourably of the proposal as giving to the Company "a reasonable pennyworth," and agreed to accept the offer. Thus on the 12th December, 1614, "To this Corte came Mr. Speed to lett the Company understand that Mr. Doctor White, Prebend of the More, would be content to grant unto the Company a new lease for forty years of the Gardens and Tayntors in Moorefields for forty pounds fyne and thirty shillings per ann. increase in rent, which will then amount unto tenn pounds per ann., and the Company holding it to be a reasonable pennyworth for soe much money have ordered and agreed that forty pounds shall be given, &c."

Whether from this introduction or not, it is certain that Dr. White was acquainted with the members³ of the Merchant

¹ Part I, page 333.

² Part I, page 202.

³ Dr. White was the son of a Gloucestershire clothier, and in that way may have felt a special interest in the Merchant Taylors Company, whose members were largely interested in that industry. The Sion College Pensions are regulated by a scheme dated 23rd July, 1877, which gives the Merchant Taylors Company the right of presenting eight candidates for election by the Governors. I have not traced any special claim which the Company had upon this benefactor, but he is a party to two deeds,—the first, dated 28th June, 1621, between the Doctor of the first part, the University of Oxford of the second part, and the Company of the third; and the other dated 14th August, 1621, between the Doctor and the Company, constituting the Company (for a gift of five marks) the auditors of the University accounts every fifth year, in respect of an endowment for a Lectureship in Moral Philosophy in that University.

Another entry of the 6th December 1622, is to the effect that "our Master is requested to provide for Mr. Doctor White of Paules, to be sent him as a Company's gift, so much sack and clarett wyne as by former presidents has been provided."

Taylors Company, as he afterwards became a benefactor by making them patrons or nominators to his almshouses at Sion College.

Speed having thus served the Company appears on the 18th March, 1614, as asking that they would give him a renewal of a lease granted on the 19th July, 1594, to George Sotherton, for 30 years at 20s. per annum, held by Speed, and upon which he had erected new buildings. The entry is in these words: "John Speed having surrendered his lease of a garden and tenement in the Moore-fields, wherein there is yeat nine years to come, did desire that it would please the Company to grant him a new lease for a longer tyme; whereupon the Company, considering how he hath heretofore expressed his love to this house by psenting his labors of free guift, and that he hath built on the said ground a fayer house which may stand him in 400*l.*, ordered that he shall have a new lease of the sayed garden and new tenemen^t for the terme of thirty-one years without fyne and paying the old rent, which is twenty shillings p. ann."

This lease was sealed on the 21st June, 1615, for 31 years from Christmas, 1614, and as Speed thought the house would be improved by a garden, he purchased James Edwards' leasehold interest in that lying adjacent, and came to the Company with this further request on 8th May, 1618:

"At the Court came Mr. Speed, a brother of this Society, and showed the Comp^y a plott of the taynter and gardens w^{ch} he lately hath purchased of James Edwards,¹ purposing with the Comp^s consent to build a brick wall about the same, and to laie it to his owne garden for the enlarging thereof, and to make passages to Mr. Gore's garden and Mr. Dunbrook's in another place;" whereupon it was resolved to refer it to the Master and Wardens and several other members of the Court to view and report, which the Committee did on 8th June, 1618, and on the 1st July, 1618, a new lease was sealed as for 31 years, at a rent of 3*l.* per annum.

In these premises possibly he lived until his death on the 28th July, 1629, for he was buried in the churchyard of St. Giles, Cripplegate. The family, represented in December, 1632, by John Speed, M.D., and Samuel Speed, and then in July, 1653, by John Speed, of St. John's College, Oxford, had the lease renewed to them, upon the allegation that John Speed (the historian) had built a "fayer house." These entries relate to the family, which has long ceased to be connected with the Company.

¹ Edward's rent was 40s. a year. This added to Speed's 20s. will make up the 3*l.*

“10th December, 1632.—Granted that John Speed, Doctor of Phisicke, and Sam^l Speed, Merchaunt taylor, shall have the term of fourteene yeares added to theire terme of seventeene yeares yett to come in the lease of the tenements and gardens in Litle Moorfields, lately new built by their late father John Speed, Merchaunt taylor, dec^d and several leases to be made to each of them for one and thirty yeares from Christmas next at the yearelie rent of three pounds, viz., 40s. for the tenement with appurtenences graunted to Doctor Speed, being a Taynter ground, and 20s. for the term granted to the said Samuel Speed, and for the fine of 60*l.* viz., 25*l.* thereof to be paid by the said Doctor Speed, and 35*l.* residue to be paid by the said Samuel, and each of them to give our Maister a bucke.”

“Ordered that John Speed, a student in St. John’s College, Oxford, surrendering his lease in _____ of the tenement and garden in Little Moorfields now in his tenure, and late in the tenure of Mr. John Speed, late Merchant Taylor, deceased, his father, and which was heretofore built by his grandfather, shall have a new lease thereof from 31 years from Mich^s next, for the accustomed yearly rent of 40s. and for the fine of 45*l.*, to be paid within three months.—[16th July, 1652.]

APPENDIX 1.

LIST OF MASTERS AND WARDENS OF THE TAYLORS AND LINEN
ARMOURERS FROM 1392 TO 1700.

[These lists of Masters and Wardens have been prepared from the Account and Court Books, as far as possible, and in the absence of these sources of information from charters, wills, deeds, &c., as noted. There is no proof extant that the guildsmen whose names are printed in *Italics* served in office. Many blanks are unavoidably left, which may be supplied should additional information at any time be obtained. A member who had served as Sheriff or Alderman was seldom called upon to fill any Guild office. The election was made on St. John Baptist Day for one year.]

[Prepared by Mr. Harcourt Chambers.]

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.

Elected under Charter of 30th July in the 14th Richard II (1390).

1392	¹ John Newell, Serjeant-at-Arms.	John Buck. Hugh Talbot.	John Setton. Peter Fykelden.
1398	Henry Newman.		
1399	Clement Kyrton.		
1400	John Fauconer.		
1401	John Ballard.		
1402	Robert Eland.		
1403	Richard Lynne.		
1404	² Simond Lief.	Ralf Bate. John Fulthorp.	Richard Sawyer. John Secke.
1405	³ Robert Queldryk.	Thomas Yolbourne. Sampson Benett.	William Surcestre. Thomas Sutton.
1406	John Colbroke.		
1407	Piers Mason.		
1408	⁴ Thomas Sulton.	John Wenlock. Thomas Wylby.	Adam Fereby. Ralph Shaclock.

Elected under Charter of 2nd August in the 9th Henry IV (1408).

1409	⁵ John Fulthorp.		
1410	John Marshall.		
1411	⁶ Thomas Tropenelle.		
1412	⁷ William Waryn.	Richard Frepers. Robert Feneskales.	Thomas Drewell. Gerard Lowe.
1413	⁸ John Candish.		
1414	Thomas Whittingham.		
1415	⁹ William Jowdrell.		

¹ Hustings Roll, Guildhall, 1st March, 1392.

² See "Sibsay's" will.

³ See "Churchman's" will.

⁴ Memorial 44, page 278. Hustings Roll, 136 (29).

⁵ Donor of Plate.

⁶ See Part I, page 63, and Memorials, page 515.

⁷ See "Mason's" will.

⁸ Memorial 45, page 279.

⁹ His wife Alice was admitted 4 Henry V, Memorials, page 618.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1416	John Weston.		
1417	William Holgrave.		
1418	¹ Ralph Bate.		
1419	² Ralph Holand.		
1420	Robert Feneskales.		
1421	Ralph Scollathe.		
1422	³ Richard Norden.		
1423	John de Bury.		
1424	Alexander Farnell.		
1425	Richard Reynold.		
1426	John Caston.		
1427	John Knotte.		
1428	⁴ William Chapman.		
1429	Philip Possell.		
1430	John Thorne.		
1431	⁵ Jeffery Gybon.	John Peck. John Partynge.	John Locok. John Holt.
1432	Roger Holbech.		
1433	John King.		
1434	John Legge.		
1435	John Pecke.		
1436	Thomas Davy.		
1437	John Axtall.		
1438	John Bale.		
1439	John Locokk.	Nicholas Blome. ⁶ John Stone.	Thomas White. William Knotte.

Elected under Charter of 24th February in the 18th Henry VI (1439-40).

1440	Piers Saverey.		
1441	Richard Skernyng.		
1442	William ffyge.		
1443	William Auntrus.		
1444	John Langewith.		
1445			
1446			
1447			
1448			
1449			
1450			
1451	⁷ John Prynce.	Thomas Pye. Richard Sutton.	John Martym. Thomas Burgeys.
1452	⁸ John Gylle.	Richard Roke. John Hyll.	John Spencer. John Wyche.
1453	William Knotte.		
1454	John Belham.		
1455	George Ashton.		
1456	John Pounce.		
1457	John Jordan.		
1458	William Boylet.		

¹ Donor of Plate.

² See Part I, page 136, *ante*, and Memorial 44, page 280.

³ Donor of Plate. Sheriff in 1460.

⁴ Donor of Plate.

⁵ See "T. Sutton's" will.

⁶ Donor of Plate. Sheriff in 1463.

⁷ Memorials, page 49, and Part II, page 111.

⁸ See "Holland's" will.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1459	¹ William Langedon.	Robert Colwych. John Snowden	Richard Bristoll. William Blakeman.
1460	² Robert Colwich.		
1461	John Derby.		
1462	William Person.		
1463	³ Roger Tygo.		
1464	John Fayreford.		
1465	John Stodard.	Gilbert Kays. William Parker.	John Swan. Robert Walthrow.

Elected under Charter of 28th August in the 5th Edward IV (1465).

1466	John Phelip.		
1467	⁴ Thomas Burgeys.	John Kyffin. William Marshall.	Roger Warren. Richard Nayler.
1468	Walter Barow.		
1469	⁵ William Parker.	John Kyffin. Richard Nayler.	Richard Warner. William Crosseby.
1470	John Swanne.		
1471	⁶ William Gale.		
1472	Roger Warynge.		
1473	Gilbert Keys.		
1474	Richard Bristall.		
1475	⁷ Richard Naylor.		
1476	Richard Warner, and John Phelip.		
1477	Robert Middleton.		
1478	Roger Barlow.		
1479	John Materdale.		
1480	⁸ Robert Dupleage.		
1481	⁹ Hugh Pemberton.		
1482	John Lee.		
1483	<i>John Hed.</i>		
1484	— Stodard.	Richard West. — Materdale.	Richard Duplage. Hugh Pemberton.
1485	Sir John Percyvale.		
1486	Thomas Cotton.	Thomas Randell. John Barnard.	William Grene. George Lufkyn.
1487	¹⁰ Gilbert Keys.		
1488	William Buck.	Oliver Warner. James Wilford.	Thomas Petyt. John Doket.
1489	Stephen Jenyns.	William Green. John Bernard.	Thomas Bodley. Peter Forster.
1490	John Spencer.	Thomas Bromeflete. Thomas Howden.	Roger Mone. Richard Hill.
1491	William Harte.	Henry Clough. Nicholas Nynes.	Henry Kellowe. Randolph Bukberd.

¹ See "Candish's" will.

² Part I, page 131.

⁴ See "H. Langwith's" will.

⁵ Donor of Plate.

⁵ Memorials, page 127.

⁶ Henry Gale's name also appears as a Taylor in 1466, Part II, page 11.

⁷ Dealings with him in 1463 at page 234, Howard's Household Expenses, Roxburgh Papers, (1841). This gentleman, an Alderman of London, was married to Elizabeth, who became before her death, "Lady Bergevenney," and as such she gave to the Company a "Standing Gilt Cup," which is entered as her gift in the Inventory of 1512. She was four times married, and had sons by Richard Naylor, who died and was buried in St. Martin Outwich, in 1483. On her death in April, 1500, she was buried in his vault. See her will, Vol. 2, Nich. Test. Vest., page 441.

⁸ Donor of Plate.

⁹ Sheriff in 1491.

¹⁰ 1 Memorials, page 114.

Date of Election	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1492	Walter Povey.	John Doget.	R. Dyngley.
1493	Thomas Randall.	Thomas Petyt.	John Povey.
1494	¹ James Wylford.	Richard Hill.	Thomas Bedford.
1495	Ewin Broughton.	John Kyrkeby.	Richard Smith.
1496	Nicholas Nynes.	Thomas Howden.	R. Kelambe.
1497	² Thomas Petyt.	Roger Mone.	William Fitzwilliam.
1498	³ Thomas Bromefelde.	John Povey.	Edward Flowre.
1499	William Fitzwilliam.	James Grene.	John Herst.
1500	John Doget.	John Kirkby.	Thomas Weston.
1501	⁵ John Kyrkeby.	Richard Smyth.	Richard Cowhill.
1502	⁶ Richard Smith.	Roger Mone.	John Bodyam.
		Ralph Bukberd.	William Batyson.
		William Fitzwilliam.	Hugh Acton.
		Thomas Pole.	
		Richard Smith.	Richard Tolle.
		Edmund Flour.	Thomas Speight.
		John Bodyam.	Thomas Gardner.
		Richard Cowhill.	George Sall.
		John Bernard.	Robert Johnson.
		Robert Kelambe.	Henry Rugeley.
		Hugh Acton.	⁷ John Skevyngton.
		William Batyson.	James Moncaster.

The List of the Masters and Wardens of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in the City of London, elected under the Charter of the 6th January, in the 18 Henry VII (1502-3).

1503	⁸ Edmund Flower.	Richard Conhill.	Humfrey Rugeley.
1504	<i>Richard Hill.</i>	Thomas Speight.	John Wright.
1505	Thomas Howden.		
1506	⁹ Richard Conhill.	Thomas Speight.	John Breton.
1507	William Grene.	Humfrey Pugley.	Robert Farethwayte.
1508	¹⁰ <i>Hugh Acton.</i>	J. Tressawell.	Richard Hall.
1509	¹¹ Thomas Speight.	John Wright.	John Sexsy.
1510	¹² John Skevynton.	Henry Dacre.	George Harward.
1511	¹³ John Tressawell.	Richard Hall.	John Benet.
1512		<i>George Sall.</i>	<i>Geoffrey Vaughan.</i>
1513	Henry Dacres.	<i>Henry Dacres.</i>	<i>John Hawys.</i>
		John Wright.	John Nechilles.
		Robert Fayrethwatte.	Thomas Cole.

¹ Sheriff in 1519. Buried at St. Bartholomew, by the Exchange.

² Died during mastership.

³ Part II, page 30.

⁴ Lord Mayor in 1510, when Sir W. Fitzwilliam was disfranchised. See Fabyan Chron., Part VII, page 695.

⁵ Sheriff in 1508.

⁶ Sheriff in 1509.

⁷ Sheriff 1521, and Alderman, and see his will 31st December, 1524, printed page 99, *ante*.

⁸ Part II, page 37.

⁹ Memorials, page 260. Part II, page 44.

¹⁰ Part II, page 34, *ante*.

¹¹ Possibly about this date, see Part III, pages 37-100; Part II, page 99.

¹² I have inserted these officers in this year-by conjecture, as the Master was third Warden in 1503 and Master before Tressawell.

¹³ From Inventory.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1514	John Wright.	¹ William Wylford. George Harwood.	William Copland. John Causton.
1515			
1516			
1517			
1518	² William Wilford.	John Nicholls. Richard Gibson.	³ John Benett. Richard Houlte.
1519	⁴ Geoffrey Vaughan.	⁵ Paul Withipoll. John Hurforth.	John Coke. William Heton.
1520	⁶ John Gonne.	Thomas Cole. Robert Shethers.	Robert Wade. Henry Clydw.
1521			
1522			
1523			
1524			
1525			
1526	John Breton.	Robert Farethwate. William Wylford.	Paul Wythipoll. John Handford.
1527	⁷ Hugh Acton.	Robert Pagett. George Harrison.	John Skute. ⁸ Henry Suckley.
1528			
1529			
1530	⁹ Richard Gibson.	Richard Buckland. William Kyrkeby.	¹⁰ Thomas Whyte. ¹¹ Robert Dawbnay.
1531			
1532 ¹²			
1533	.. ..	<i>Thomas White,</i>	
1534			
1535	<i>Thomas White.</i>		
1536 ¹⁴	¹⁵ <i>Henry Suckley.</i>		
1537	<i>Paul Wethypool.</i>		
1538	<i>John Bennett.</i>		
1539	<i>Holte.</i>		
1540	<i>— Skutt.</i>		
1541	<i>— Malte.</i>		
1542 ¹⁶	<i>Stephen Kyrton.</i>		
1543			
1544	Robert Dawbeney.		Raffe Davenett. William Barlowe.
1545	Thomas Brooke.	Nicholas Cosen. Richard Brayne.	Walter Yong. ¹⁷ Richard Tonge.
1546 {	¹⁸ Thomas Brooke. Richard Holte.		Sydney Cooke. William Priestley.

¹ Hustings Roll 237 (42).² Sheriff in 1545; buried in St. Bartholomew the Less.³ Agnes Bennett, donor of plate, and wife of the testator for Sir S. Jenyns, Part II, page 37.⁴ Vide Harrys' will.⁵ Was Member for London; and see Memorials, page 560, and Part I, pages 100 and 150, ante; Hustings Roll, 238 (115), 22 October, 1538.⁶ Vide Slater's will.⁷ Possibly the son of the Master of 1508, Part II, page 99. Vide Speight's will.⁸ Henry Suckley, Sheriff 1541.—Stowe, Book 5, page 131. Died 20th July, 1564; and is buried in Allhallows, Bread Street.—Stowe, Book 3, page 200.⁹ Vide Speight's will.¹⁰ Afterwards Sir Thomas White.¹¹ Buried 3rd September, 1558.—Machyn page 173.¹² In this year Robert Thayne, Merchant Taylor and a Bachelor, died in Christopher-le-Stocks, and gave by will in charity more than 4,445l.—Stowe, page 70.¹⁴ John Pagett (Merchant Taylors Company), was Sheriff this year, and buried at St. Dionis, Fenchurch.¹⁵ This entry and those to 1543 are made on the authority of the Corn Assesment printed at Part I, page 342.¹⁶ (32 Henry VIII) Nicholas Wilford was M.P. for London. In this year Sir Henry Hubbathorne (Merchant Taylor) was Sheriff, and Lord Mayor at Edward VI's coronation in 1546-7, probably naming Sir Thomas White for Sheriff in 1547. He is frequently mentioned in Machyn's Diary. He was buried at St. Peter's, Cornhill, 18th October, 1556. Page 155.¹⁷ Richard Tonge, when Auditor 1549-50, could not write, but made his mark (u).¹⁸ Brooke died 1st November, 1546, in his second year of office, and was buried in St. Dunstan's in

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1547	¹ Thomas Offley.		Emmanuel Lucar. John Wethers.
1548	² Richard Wadyngton.		George Heton. Thomas Rowe.
1549	³ Nicholas Cosyn.		Symon Lowe. Edward Lee.
1550	⁴ Robert Mellyshe.		Nicholas Wollerd William Body.
1551	Richard Botyll.		Thomas Acworth. Robert Rose.
1552	⁵ John Jakes.	⁶ — Davenett.	Thomas Rycharde Ralph White.
1553	⁷ William Harper.		Richard Wethyll. William Merycke.
1554	⁸ Guy Wade.	George Heton. Thomas Rowe.	Richard Hille. John God.
1555	William Clyfton.		Thomas Walker. Francis Pope.
1556	⁹ George Heton.		John Clyff. Thomas Browne.
1557	¹⁰ Thomas Rowe.		
1558			
1559			
1560	¹¹ — Mancarlin.	Robert Rose. William Merycke.	¹² Robert Duckynton. John Sparke.
1561	¹³ Richard Hilles.	Rugeley Francis Pope	William Albany. Robert Hulson.
1562	¹⁴ Richard Whethi.l.	Ralph White. Thomas Browne.	Thomas Haile. Christopher Marlowe.
1563	Robert Rose.	John God. William Sulyard.	Nicholas Love. Thomas Shotesham.
1564	¹⁵ John Olyff. 1537.	Thomas Browne. Gerard Gore.	William Kempton. Richard Johnson.
1565	¹⁶ John God. By patri- mony, 16th April, 1542.	William Meryck. Stephen Hailes.	Thomas Offley, jun. John Williamson.
1566	Thomas Browne.	Francis Pope. Thomas Thomlinson.	William Hodgeson. Thomas Wilford.
1567	Gerard Gore.	William Sylarde. Robert Hulson.	William Heton. Arthur Daubney.

¹ Part II, page 172.² The cousin and one of the executors of Sir W. FitzWilliam.³ See Richard Hilles' life, Part II, page .⁴ Buried at Allhallow's, Bread Street.—Machyn, page 279, and Stowe, Book I, page 259, and Book 3, page 200. Sir John York, Sheriff 1550, buried in St Stephen's, Walbrook.—2 Wrioth., page 28.⁵ Lived in Cornhill, and was buried at Waltham Abbey 1556.—Machyn, page 113.⁶ Machyn's writes:—"Davenett was Warden, and buried 15th Decmber" (page 27), and see page 300.⁷ His life, Part II, page 238.⁸ Machyn's Diary, page 91.⁹ See Part I, pages 192-3, ante.¹⁰ Machyn describes the Decollation feast, page 149. Sir Thomas Rowe, Sheriff in 1560.—Machyn page 268. Lord Mayor 1568.¹¹ Machyn, page 238. Strype says E. Lucar was Master, Book I, page 169.¹² Buried 2nd October, 1572.—Machyn, page 293.¹³ See his life, Part II, page 52.¹⁴ Machyn, *ib.*, page 287.¹⁵ Sheriff in 1569. Buried 4th July, 1577, St. Lawrence, Poultney; died 26th June, aged 65, Alderman.

Was the son of Sir John Olyff, surgeon to Henry VIII, who was an Alderman, and was buried at St. Michael's Basinghall, 20th March, 1550.—Machyn, page 116.

¹⁶ Part I, page 217, ante.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1568	William Albany.	John Traves. Nicholas Love.	Edward Thones. Nicholas Spencer.
1569	¹ Robert Hulson.	John Sparke. Christopher Marlowe.	Walter Ffyshe. Richard White.
1570	² William Kympton. By Richard Buckland, 21st July, 1544.	Thomas Shotesham. { Robert Donkyn. ³ William Hodgson.	Henry Offley. John Mylner.
1571	Richard Johnson. By Robert Fullwood, 15th March, 1539.	John Wilkinson. Arthur Daubney.	Robert Dowe. Richard Offley.
1572	⁴ William Hodgson.	Christopher Marlowe. Walter Fishe.	Richard Browne. Gyles Jacob.
1573	Richard White. By Robert Gray, 13th December, 1538.	Thomas Hulle. Thomas Kyrtton.	Robert Hawes. Charles Hoskyns.
1574	Arthur Dawbney. By Robert Dawbney, 16th September, 1552.	Thomas Offley. Nicholas Spencer.	William Phillipps. Anthony Ratclif.
1575	Edward Joans.	Robert Dowe. Robert Hawes.	Richard Maye. John Mansbridge.
1576	Walter Fyshe.	Thomas Wilford. Giles Jacob.	Robert Brett. William Widnell.
1577	⁵ Anthony Radclyff. By patrimony, 11th October, 1555.	Richard Bourne. Charles Hoskyns.	Richard Paramour. George Sotherton.
1578	Robert Dowe. By Nicholas Wilford, 9th August, 1550.	Thomas Wilford. Christopher Darrell.	Oliver Rowe. Reynold Barker.
1579	⁶ William Phillipps. By Henry Phillipps, 24th February, 1547.	Richard Maye. William Dodworth,	Thomas Pope. John Pounte.
1580	Robert Hawes. By John Juxon, 13th July, 1543.	Robert Brett. John Topp.	William Offley. George Quernby.
1581	Richard Bourne. By John Roughie, 7th November, 1578.	Richard Offley. George Sotherton.	Richard Proctor. John Churchman.
1582	Charles Hoskyns. By John Hoskyns, 21st April, 1550.	William Wydnell. Oliver Rowe.	Hugh Hendley. Edward Kympton.
1583	Richard Maye. By Thomas White, 22nd April, 1555.	Nicholas Spencer. Richard Peter.	John Marden. Roger Abdy.
1584	Henry Offeley. By patrimony, 13th October, 1556.	John Toppe. Thomas Pierson.	William Whittell. Henry Hunlocke.
1585	Thomas Wilford. By patrimony, 29th January, 1553.	William Dodworth. Thomas Pope.	John Robinson. Richard Venables.
1586	William Widnell. By Robert Hulson, 17th June, 1555.	Reynold Barker. Nowell Sotherton.	William Salte. Henry Webbe.

¹ The master of Sir W. Craven, and afterwards his landlord. He was a donor of plate.² Sheriff, 1576.³ Robert Donkyn died during year of office.⁴ T. Shotesham fined for Master, 40*l*. See Part I, page 217, *ante*.⁵ Sheriff 158*c*.⁶ His daughter married Daniel Hilles, youngest son of Richard Hilles, Part II, page 226.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1587	John Toppe. By redemption, 15th June, 1562.	Hugh Henley. William Evans.	Henry Palmer. Walter Plumer.
1588	Nicholas Spencer.	Richard Prockter. Edward Kimpton.	Leonard Hollyday. Robert Hampson.
1589	¹ George Sotherton. By Roger Baynton, 24th October, 1561.	John Churchman. William Whittle.	Thomas Aldesworth. Richard Goare.
1590	Hugh Hendley. By Henry Suckley, 23rd October, 1556.	Roger Abdy. John Robinson.	Gregory Smith. ² Roberte Lee.
1591	William Dodworth. By redemption, 26th January, 1559.	Nowell Sotherton. Henry Webbe.	Richard Shepham. William Linford.
1592	Oliver Rowe. By John Sparke, 20th January, 1552.	Richard Venables. Walter Plumer.	John Mansbridge. John Davenet.
1593	Richard Procter. By patrimony, 29th November, 1546.	Leonard Hollidaye. William Craven.	John Harrison. Jeffrey Elwaes.
1594	³ John Churchman. By patrimony, 20th January, 1583.	⁴ Robert Hampton. Thomas Aldeworth.	Roger Halye. Thomas Juxson.
1595	Reginald Barker. By Reginald Barker, 6th February, 1584.	⁵ Richard Gore. Gregory Smith.	John Hulson. Christopher Thatcher.
1596	Edward Kympton. By William Kympton, 13th October, 1567.	Henry Palmer. William Linford.	Richard Ralwey. John Swynnerton.
1597	⁶ Nowell Sotherton. By redemption, 8th September, 1570.	Richard Shepham. Humfrey Corbett.	William Price. John Johnson.
1598	⁷ Richard Venables, to 29th July, 1598 (died). By Richard Holt, 29th March, 1560. Henry Webb, from 2nd August, 1598. By Christopher Wichnerett, 8th December, 1559.	Jeffery Elwes. Roger Hayley.	Humfrey Streete. John Vaux.
1599	Walter Plumer. By Francis Barker, 27th October, 1559.	Thomas Juxon. John Vernon.	William Jones. Thomas Rowe.
1600	Henry Palmer. By Thomas Hold, 20th March, 1554.	John Hulson. John Swinarton.	Richard Wrighte. ⁸ Richard Cox.

¹ Was M.P. for London 1592 to 1600.² Lord Mayor 1602, Part I, page 262.³ A decayed Master, granted pension of 20 marks, 12th October, 1605; almshouse 23rd May, 1610; increased to 20*l.* 16th December, 1608.⁴ Hampton, Sheriff in 1599; died 2nd May, 1607.⁵ Part I, pages 183 and 263, *ante*.⁶ Part I, page 263, *ante* Mr. N. Sotherton, 20*l.* in plate presented to, 8th November, 1606.⁷ Died 29th July, buried August 8th, 1598, in St. Lawrence Poultry.⁸ Richard Cox could not write; made his mark on scholars' election paper *R C*.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1601	Thomas Aldworth. By Sir Thomas White, 11th February, 1563.	Richard Rodway. John Johnson.	¹ Thomas Thomas. Gerard Gore, jun.
1602	Richard Gore. By patrimony, 19th December, 1592.	William Price. John Vauxe.	² William Chambre. ³ William Hawes
1603	Humfrey Corbett. By Edward Sandforde, 4th September, 1568.	Humfrey Streete. Thomas Rowe.	Thomas Owen. Andrew Osborne.
1604	Jeffery Elwes. By John Baldwin, 1st September, 1564.	John Vernon. Gerard Gore, jun.	⁴ John Hyde. ⁵ Arthur Medlycott. ⁵ Arthur Medlycott. Richard Scalcs.
1605	Thomas Juxon. By patrimony, 27th October, 1595.	William Jones. ⁶ William Hawes.	Thomas Henshaw. Anthony Holmead.
1606	⁷ John Swynnerton. By Jeoffrey Vaughan, 12th March, 1562.	Richard Wright. Andrew Osborne.	Edward Atkinson. William Albany.
1607	⁸ John Johnson. By patrimony, 30th June, 1589.	Thomas Owen. Richard Scales.	John Wooller Randolph Woolley.
1608	Humphrey Streete. By Rowland Oker, 18th June, 1574.	Thomas Henshaw. ⁹ Anthony Holmead.	George Lidiott. Francis Evington.
1609	John Vernon. By Richard Newton, 1st December, 1595.	Edward Atkinson. William Albany.	George Hothersall. Robert Jenkinson.
1610 ¹⁰	Thomas Rowe. By Thomas Waterhouse, 12th December, 1578.	John Wooller. Randolph Woolley.	Ralph Hamor. Thomas Johnson.
1611 ¹¹	Richard Wright. By redemption, 31st March, 1587.	George Lydiatt. Fraunce Evington.	Thomas Boothby. John Gore.
1612	Andrew Osborne. By William Stone, 20th February, 1569.	Robert Jenkinson. Ralph Hamer.	William Gore. Charles Hoskyns.
1613	¹² Richard Scales. By Philip Dye, 2nd October, 1573.	¹³ Thomas Johnson. Thomas Boothby.	¹⁴ Isaac Holloway. ¹⁵ Richard Otway.

¹ T. Thomas, third Warden, died during year of office.

² W. Chambers, third Warden, not able to pay foot of his account. His great fair carpet accepted for King's Chamber. 50l. allowed off his debt to the Company, 9th February, 1604.

³ W. Hawes, having faithfully accounted as Warden, elected an Assistant, 27th March, 1604.

⁴ J. Hyde died during year of office. New Warden elected 27th October, 1604.

⁵ A. Medlycott (promoted on Hyde's death to third Warden, and then died). His will, 4,000l. to Company.

⁶ J. Tedcastle, fined for Warden 30l. Elected on to Court, 25th October, 1611. (V 180. Precept re freedom of trade to Levant Seas). (V. 190. John Bull, reversioneer, Dow, 100 years as he said.)

⁷ Part I, Chap. XVI.

⁸ Livery fine increased from 25l to 30l. for those called, 35l. for others.

⁹ S. Clynte, Worcestershire, excused Warden. He will leave something to the Company in his will. (V. infra 1613).

¹⁰ Wolverhampton School. Scholars and school books, set out in Records V, 480.

¹¹ R. Langley, late Clerk, now Town Clerk, sworn Assistant, 18th March, 1610.

¹² 27th January, 1611, nine new Assistants.

¹³ 2nd March, 1611, four new Assistants.

¹⁴ 30th March, 1612, three new Assistants.

¹⁵ S. Clynte, excused, Worcestershire; 80 years old, had travelled five miles in last three years.

¹⁶ M. L.ather excused owing to i. e.

¹⁷ J. Robinson put in Newgate, fined 100l., commuted to 50l.

¹⁸ M. Springham excus. d, "stayed" in Ireland. Master 1617.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1614	¹ Randolph Wooley. By Robert Brett, 22nd April, 1675.	² Charles Hoskins. William Gore.	William Greenewell. John Slaney.
1615	³ Thomas Johnson. By Frances Gore, 6th October, 1587.	Matthias Springham. Isaack Holloway.	Thomas Francklyn. Edward James.
1616	Charles Hoskyns. By patrimony, 24th November, 1589.	Richard Otway. William Greenewell.	Thomas Marsham. ⁴ John Prowde.
1617	Matthias Springham. By Charles Hoskyns, 11th November, 1588.	John Slaney. Thomas Francklyn.	Peter Towers. Richard Tennant.
1618	⁵ William Greenewell.	Edward James. Thomas Marsham. John Prowd. Peter Towers.	Thomas Mills. ⁶ Ralph Gore. James Traves. Edmnd Creech.
1619	John Slaney. By William Atkin, 1st December, 1593.	Thomas Mills. Ralph Gore.	William Bond. ⁷ Matthew Beadell.
1620	Edward James. By Robert Eversham, 17th September, 1611.	Edmund Crick. Edward Ketcher or Catcher.	Henry Poulsted. William Speight.
1621	Thomas Marsham.	⁸ Edward Catcher. ⁹ Geffrey Prescott.	Bartholomew Elnor. Jeramie Gaie.
1622	Peter Towers. By Edward Bedio, 17th September, 1580.	Henry Polsted. ¹⁰ Richard Bigg.	¹¹ Edward Warner. Robert Draker.
1623	Ralph Gore. By patrimony, 19th December, 1592.	Jeoffrey Prescott. Roger Drury.	John Brown. Francis Neave.
1624	Edmond Crich.	¹³ Bartholomew Ellnor. ¹⁴ Jeramy Gay.	¹⁵ Peter Bradshaw. ¹⁵ ¹⁶ William Rodway.
1625	¹² Henry Polstead. By patrimony, 17th July, 1592.		

¹ J. Wooller fined for Master 100l.² J. Gore, Sheriff, excused all service.³ 8th July. Decided that those who have been chosen as Sheriffs, but who have fined not to serve, shall still be eligible for office in this Company.J. Gore } Elected Master before their turn, fined each 100l., to be returned if they should
T. Boothby } be chosen Sheriff or Alderman before their right turn came.

T. Boothby paid fine 16th July, 1616.

R. Jenkinson fined for Master 100l.

1st September 1615, six new Assistants.

⁴ R. Smith fined for Warden 50l. Land at Maidstone bought for 3,600l. Nine new Assistants. Vernon's and Craven's pensioners chosen for first time.⁵ T. Franklyn, late fined for Sheriff, fined for Master 100l., fined for Alderman, Bishopsgate, 24th September, 1622.

R. Otway fined for Master 100l.

⁶ J. Collett fined for Warden 25l.

Renter-Wardens in future to be bound with two sureties for 400l.

Six new Assistants, M. Beadell, E. Katcher, H. Poulsted, W. Speight, W. Priestley, J. Prescott. Hall wainscotted 200l.

⁷ W. Brett fined 50l., not to serve in any capacity.⁸ M. Beadell sworn in as Warden, but excused in August, being chosen Alderman.⁹ G. Prescott could not sign, made his mark T.¹⁰ W. Briggan fined for all service 100l.¹¹ J. Hanbury and R. Ellon fined and excused this year. Bigg was promoted by these defaults from fourth to second Warden.¹² E. Catcher, "aged, impotent, blind, and dark," fined for Master 26l. 13s. 4d.¹³ B. Ellnor fined for all further office 50l.¹⁴ J. Gay fined for all further office 50l.¹⁵ F. Plomer and G. Johnson fined for Warden, 50l. each.¹⁶ W. Rodway died during year of office.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1626	Edward Warner. By Peter Legate, 10th May, 1588.	¹ Richard Bigg. Robert Draper.	William Hawkins. Richard Frauncis.
1627	Edward Cotton. By William Griffen, 11th January, 1588.	Roger Drury. Henry Pratt.	John Brown. Daniel Eliott.
1628	Robert Draper. By patrimony, 4th October, 1596.	Francis Neave. Thomas Plomer.	George Benson. Robert Gray.
1629	Francis Neave. By Thomas Pearcemen, 28th July, 1598.	George Johnson. { ² Peter Bradshaw. William Hawkins.	Isaac Jones. Nicholas Grice.
1630	³ Henry Pratt.	Richard Frances. George Benson. Robert Gray.	Robert Briggs. William Stanley.
1631	⁴ George Benson.	Isaac Jones. Nicholas Grice. William Stanley.	Robert Senior. Symon Beardall.
1632 ⁵	Nicholas Griggs.	William Turney. Robert Senior. Symon Bardolfe.	William Tulle. William Turner.
1633	⁶ William Stanley.	William Angell. Thomas Wetherall. Richard Turner.	Henry Kinnersley. William Angell.
1634	⁷ Symon Bardolphe.	William Shorte. Symon Wood. Nathaniel Owen.	Thomas Wetherall. William Shorte.
1635	William Tulle.	George Langham. Richard Andrews. Nathaniel Owen.	Symon Wood.
1636	Richard Turner.	George Fracklyn. Daniel Hollingworth. Roger Marsh.	Nathaniel Owen.
1637	Symon Wood.		George Langham.
1638	⁹ Thomas Wetherall.		Richard Andrews.
1639 ¹	William Parsell.		⁸ Robert Greenewell.
1640	¹¹ Abraham Reynardson.		William Gelsthorpp.
1641	¹² Clement Mosse.		William Parsell.

¹ R. Bigg, to be excused Master, 50l.

Two new Assistants, W. Stanley, T. Wetherall, ancient Liverymen.

Three New Assistants, S. Wood, B. Henshaw, G. Langham, ancientest Liverymen.

² P. Bradshaw died in year of office.

368. Earl of Warwick admitted to freedom.

³ T. Plomer, infirm, fined for Master 100l., reduced to 50l. Wm. Hawkins elected Master, but excused. H. Pratt was in the first place elected 2nd Warden.

⁴ G. Johnson fined for Master 100l.

⁵ R. Francis fined for Master 50l., afterwards returned to his widow.

⁶ Lord Craven made free.

⁷ J. Jones excused serving Master, fine 100l.

N. Grace excused serving Master, fine 100l.

R. Gray excused serving Master, fine 100l., will pay 500l. to be lent out in three years' time.

⁸ R. Senior fined for Master 100l., but 50l. excused. He died in debt, and 50l. given to widow.

IX. 50l. given to S. Bardolphe as a testimonial, 19th June, 1640.

⁹ Henry and Jeremy Elwes find for all service, 100l. each.

T. Fracklyn fined for all service, 100l.

R. Greenewell died during year of office.

¹⁰ H. Kunnersley excused serving after several letters, &c., will leave something to the Company in his will.

¹¹ Mr. A. Reynardson and Clement Mosse, late Clerk, sworn Assistants.

¹² A. Reynardson, Sheriff at time of election.

¹³ C. Mosse, late Clerk.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1642	¹ Nathaniel Owen.	George Nash.	Roger Gardiner.
1643	² Richard Andrewe.	John Ven.	George Antrobus.
1644	William Gelsthorp.	Roger Gardiner.	William Baker.
1645	⁴ Samuel Avery (Alder- man).	George Antrobus.	John Pococke.
1646	George Mellish.	William Baker.	³ Thomas Tavernor.
1647	George Nash.	John Pococke.	John Stone.
1648	⁶ Roger Gardiner.	³ Thomas Taverner.	Richard Perrie.
1649	⁷ Walter Pell.	John Stone.	Anthony Dieper.
1650	⁸ John Stone.	Richard Perry.	Nicholas Jerrard.
1651	¹⁰ Ozias Churchman.	Anthony Dieper.	⁵ Ozias Churchman.
1652	¹¹ Robert Gale.	Nicholas Jerrard.	George Long.
1653	Sackford Gouson.	Ozias Churchman.	Henry Clarke.
1654 ¹³	Walter Bigg (Alderman and Sheriff).	George Long.	Roger Draper.
1655	Tempest Milner (Alder- man).	Henry Clarke.	Robert Newman.
1656	John Ellis.	Robert Newman.	John Straunge.
1657	William Beeke.	John Orlibeare.	Francis Taylor.
		John Straunge.	⁹ George Alport.
		Francis Taylor.	Richard Orme.
		George Alport.	Benoni Honeywood.
		Richard Orme.	James Church.
		Benoni Honeywood.	John Terrill.
		James Church.	¹² John Mellish.
		John Terrill.	Thomas Blackwell.
		John Mellish.	Maurice Gettridge.
		Thomas Blackwell.	fforth Goodday.
		Maurice Gethin.	Robert Holt.
		Robert Holt.	Thomas Nevile.
		Nathaniel Lavender.	Nathaniel Withers.
		Thomas Nevile.	Charles Chamberlain.
		Nathaniel Withers.	Richard Latham.
		Charles Chamberlain.	John Smart.
		(?) Richard Latham.	Henry Davy.

¹ *W. Short* excused on fine of 50*l*.

² *Captain G. Langham* on service with Parliamentary Army, elected Master; he wrote 13th July, and his death was reported 20th July.

(*Almswomen* to find security, so that the Company be not chargeable with their sickness and burial)

³ 1646. *T. Taverner* having suffered "losses and crosses," fine of 35*l*. and corns money 5*l*. returned to him.

⁴ *Alderman Avery* elected Assistant and Master same day.

⁵ *6l*. paid for four pictures of donors, Stint and others.

⁶ *W. Goodday* excused Warden on promise of gift of plate of 20*l*.

H. James excused Warden, fine of 10*l*. (Old, many losses, lived at Totnes.)

⁷ *Col. J. Venn* excused. M.P. for the city of London, and th. refore exempt.

⁸ *W. Baker* (lame and deaf) fined for Master 100 marks.

⁹ *R. Draper* fined for Master 100 marks.

J. Viccars excused service; no fine.

¹⁰ *G. Alport*, in 1665, being an almsman of Livery, applied to make cloth given to him for a new gown into a suit of clothes, but his application was refused

¹¹ *J. Stint* fined for Master 100 marks, had been fined for Alderman. *Not on Livery.*

Members of Court who are in town fined 1*s*. if not present at Hall before 9 A.M., and 2*s*. if absent altogether.

¹² 1646. *W. Gore*, late elected Alderman, sworn as Assistant 12th May, 1652. Fined for Master 100 marks.

T. Ivy excused, will make a gift to the Company in a month.

O. Neave fined for Master 50*l*.

W. Duvilly fined for Master 50*l*., reduced to 30*l*. } Both lately fined for Aldermen.

R. Graham excused, will give satisfaction; gave two nests silver beer bowls, and one nest silver wine bowls.

¹³ *W. Weston*, Warden elect, lately deceased.

¹³ Records 1654-63 missing.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1658	¹ Robert Lant.	John Smart.	Anthony Webb.
1659	² William Bolson.	Henry Davy.	George Endabrook.
1660	John Orlibrare.	Anthony Webb.	John Jones.
1661	William Turner.	George Endabrooke.	Patrick Bamford.
1662	Nicholas Delves.	John Jones.	Thomas Mainwaring.
1663	Benoni Honiwood.	Patrick Bamford.	George Clarke.
1664	³ Henry Hampson.	George Clarke.	William Jeston.
1665	⁵ Thomas Nevill.	— Kendall.	John Brett.
1666	Nathaniel Withers.	William Jeston.	Edmond Fabian.
1667	⁷ Edmond Lewin.	Thomas Cole.	George Nodes.
1668	Edward Nash.	Edmond Fabian.	Roger Lukin.
1669	Allane Chffe.	William Rawson.	Edward Nash.
1670	¹⁰ Henry Ashurst.	Roger Lukin.	⁴ Edward Wallis.
1671	¹¹ Patience Ward, Sheriff and Alderman.	Edward Nash.	Keuhelme White.
1672	¹² John Foster.	Edward Wallis.	Robert Hall.
1673	Sir William Pritchard, Knight.	Kellam White.	⁶ Jonathan Andrews.
1674	¹⁴ Robert Mallory.	Robert Hall.	Roger Alsopp.
		Jonathan Andrews.	Robert Chilcot.
		Robert Chilcot.	Robert Russell.
		Richard Allott.	John Hallam.
		Robert Russell.	John Bewly.
		John Hallam.	⁸ Thomas Spence.
		John Bewley.	Richard Shipton.
		Thomas Spence.	⁹ Thomas Juxon.
		Thomas Juxon.	Henry Amy.
		Richard Shipton.	Thomas Malory.
		Henry Amy.	John Acrod.
		Thomas Mallory.	John White.
		John Acrod.	Robert Sewell.
		John White.	¹² Thomas White.
		⁴ Robert Sewell.	John Kay.
		Thomas White.	John Soame.
		John Kay.	Edward Bushell.
		John Soame.	Thomas Wandell.

¹ R. Turner fined for Master, 100 marks.

² S. Lewis fined for Master, 50*l*.

A. Fox fined for Master, 60*l*.

³ J. Hallet fined for Master, 100 marks.

⁴ R. Lawson fined for Warden, 40*l*.

⁵ J. Woolnough fined for Master, 100*l*., Surrey.

J. Church fined for Master, 80*l*., present.

J. Mellish fined for Master, 80*l*., present.

M. Gethin fined for Master 80*l*., Wales

N. Lavender fined for Master, 80*l*., Cheshunt.

⁶ J. Jenkins, Junior Warden, lately dead.

Assistants to subscribe to school library before admission, 40*s*. at least.

⁷ J. Smart excused Master on resigning lease of land in Threadneedle Street.

E. Leven admitted to Court and sworn in as Master same day.

⁸ H. Tulley fined for Warden, 25*l*.

⁹ W. Smyth fined for Warden, 35*l*.

¹⁰ W. Baynbrigg fined for Master, 80*l*.

¹¹ Patience Ward's distaste for taking up his Livery. Court Records, 19th June, 1663.

¹² J. Polhill fined for Master, 100*l*.

J. Foster applied but not allowed to fine for Master.

¹³ F. Mamby excused Wardenship, will serve next year.

¹⁴ XI. J. Chadwick fined for Master, 100*l*.

J. Brett fined for Master, 100*l*., reduced to 80*l*.

T. Cole (old, &c.), fined for Master, 50*l*.

K. White fined for Master, 70*l*.

R. Chilcot (in country) fined for Master, 80*l*.

J. Bewly (in country) fined for Master, 80*l*., reduced to 60*l*.

G. Langham, time granted for consideration, said he could not serve by Act of Parliament, fined 70*l*.

W. Mead excused Master, to make a present to the Company at his discretion.

W. Tulley fined for Master, 50*l*., and 10*l*. for Hall.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1675	¹ John Acrod.	Edward Bushell. Thomas Wandell.	Edward Harvy. George Archer.
1676	John White.	Edward Harvee. George Archer.	John Wallis. John Cliffe.
1677	² Robert Sewell.	John Wallis. John Cliffe.	³ Thomas Frampton. ⁴ Nicholas Gregson.
1678	⁵ Daniel Baker.	Thomas Frampton. Nicholas Gregson.	John Pointer. George Ayray.
1679	⁶ Humphrey Nicholson.	John Paynter. George Ayray.	⁷ Isaac Grey. ⁸ John Taylor.
1680	⁹ Edward Bushell.	John Taylor. John Short.	¹⁰ Robert Kaye. John Brett, jun.
1681	¹¹ Thomas Wandell.	Robert Kaye. John Brett, jun.	Peter Proby. Christopher Pitt.
1682	¹² George Archer.	Peter Proby. Christopher Pitt.	George Torriano. Richard Taylor.
1683	Thomas Wardell.	George Torriano. Richard Taylor.	Benjamin Spier. Richard Cawthorne.
1684	¹³ Thomas Wardell; and afterwards as deputy, Sir William Turner.	George Torriano. Richard Cawthorne.	Henry Collier. John Bent.
1685	Peter Paravicin, Alderman an.	Henry Collier. John Bent.	Thomas Hatchett. Hugh Noden.
1686	Sir William Dodson.	Thomas Hatchett. Hugh Noden.	John Page. Thomas Dorwyne.
1687	¹⁴ John Wallis.	John Page. Thomas Darwyn.	Thomas Bedingfield. John Kent.
25 Nov. 1687	Sir William Ashurst.	Robert Bedingfield. Robert Swann.	¹⁵ Michael Rolls. ¹⁶ Edward Clarke.
1688	¹⁷ Sir Thomas Halton, Bart.	¹⁷ Michael Rolles. Edward Clarke.	¹⁸ Nicholas Ashton. Robert Hooker.

¹ J. Acrod applied to fine but refused.

² R. Sewell, November, 1683, applied for place of Beadle, "not for honour of this house," 40*l*. per annum granted to him.

³ E. Tulcombe discharged from Warden, not a freeman of the city.

⁴ R. Masten, discharged from Warden, want of security.

⁵ R. Dring fined for Master 100*l* in his absence.

⁶ D. Baker, Sheriff, admitted to Court 14th June, 1678.

⁷ J. Milner, Common Clerk, dismissed. 100*l* per annum for support of his mother and child.

Clerk's place estimated at 222*l*. per annum, and a house 20*l*.

The Clerk's perquisites.

John Milner re-elected Clerk. 30*l*. voted to discharge him out of prison.

Clerk translated to Brewers Company, because otherwise he cannot be a witness for this Company upon tryalls at law about matters of this Company.

⁸ H. Nicholson admitted to Livery and Court same time and sworn in as Master same day.

⁹ J. Mews, Colonel, elected as third Warden, but died August, 1679.

¹⁰ J. Taylor in 1682 still owed 42*l*. 5*s* on his account, suspended from Court.

¹¹ T. White, owing to illness not put into nomination for Master 1679. 1680 fined for Master. Ten children; twenty years living in country.

¹² R. Freston, deaf, fined for Warden 20*l*., less 5*l*.. allowed for riding expenses from Lincolnshire.

Twelve new Assistants, 27th October, 1680.

¹³ J. Kaye fined for Master, 100*l*., reduced to 80*l*.

J. Soames fined for Master, 80*l*.

¹⁴ E. Harvee, fined for Master 100*l*.

¹⁵ T. Wardall, Master second time, owing to great age may choose Deputy.

List of Livery, page 320 of Vol. 12 Court Records.

4th April. Charters surrendered to Charles II.

17th January. New Charter. Court, forty protestants.

¹⁶ Displaced, Master, J. Wallis, third Warden, and twenty-five Assistants.

¹⁷ Reinstated 11 members of Court displaced 1684.

¹⁸ C. Rigby elected Warden, and not appearing, fined 50*l*.; reduced to 20*l*.

¹⁹ H. Dewey elected Warden, and not appearing, fined 50*l*.

²⁰ Displaced Sir W. Dodson and five other Assistants.

R. Ingram excused serving as Master: elected again 1689 and fined 100*l*.

²¹ Warden Rolles to take Company's plate to his own house and keep it for safety.

²² W. Sare fined for Warden, 20*l*.

Date of Election.	Master.	Wardens.	
		1st and 2nd.	3rd and 4th.
1689	¹ George Ayrey.	Nicholas Ashton. Robert Hooker.	John Roe. ² Henry Lewis.
1690	Sir Edward Clarke, Knight and Sheriff.	John Roe.	Joseph Greenhill.
1691	Thomas Hatchett.	Henry Lewis. J. Greenhill.	Thomas Barnes. Simon Rudduck.
1692	³ Robert Swann.	T. Barnes. Simon Rudduck.	Simon Snell.
1693	Thomas Darwyn, Alderman.	Simon Snell. John Brook.	⁴ Johnne Brook. John Wyley.
1694	John Smart, Alderman.	John Wyley. Nicholas Heygate.	Nicholas Heygate. John Bateman.
1695	⁶ Edward Wills.	John Bateman. John Jones.	John Jones.
1696	⁸ Nicholas Ashton.	Richard Holder. William Saunders.	⁵ Richard Holder. ⁷ William Saunders.
1697	Robert Bedingfield, Alderman.	Evan Evans.	Evan Evans. Major Joseph Broomer.
1698	¹¹ Thomas Cuthbert.	Major J. Broomer. Captain Edward Le Neve.	⁹ Captain Edward Le Neve. Thomas Fox.
1699	James Smith.	Thomas Fox. Nicholas Charlton.	¹⁰ Nicholas Charlton. Francis Burdett.
1700	John Page.	Francis Burdett. { ¹³ William Penrice. John Bateman.	¹² William Penrice. ¹⁴ James Grunwin.
		James Grunwyn. Joseph Brooks.	¹⁵ Joseph Brooke. ¹⁶ William Withers. Thomas Salter.

¹ Sir W. Ashhurst and J. Clife elected Master and excused. N. Greyson fined for Master, 80*l*.

² F. Brind fined 50*l*.; J. Kent, fined 30*l*.; and R. Royse excused service as Warden.

³ William Earl of Craven and Sir William Ashhurst elected as Master but excused. II. Noden fined for Master, 80*l*.

⁴ Major Williams fined for Warden, 50*l*.

⁵ Henry Mitchell fined for Warden, 30*l*., summoned before the Lord Mayor for refusing to pay.

⁶ Christopher Rigby fined 100*l*., and Michael Rolles 80*l*. for Master.

⁷ Ambrose Davenport fined 30*l*. for Warden.

⁸ Sir Henry Ashurst, Bart., excused service as Master.

⁹ Francis Ellerker fined for Warden, 30*l*.

¹⁰ Robert Baker fined for Warden, 30*l*.

¹¹ Sir H. Ashurst fined for Master, 80*l*. J. Page excused service as Master.

¹² William Fitzhughes fined for Warden, 30*l*.

¹³ William Penrice died 4th October, 1699.

¹⁴ J. Bishop fined for Warden, 25*l*.

¹⁵ Edward Rigby fined for Warden, 40*l*., afterwards reduced to 30*l*.

¹⁶ Jermingham Chaplin fined for Warden, 30*l*.

APPENDIX 2.

RICHARD HILLES TO THOMAS CROMWELL.

“In Roone the xxxj day off Janeū año 1532.

“Ryght honorable syr in the moste lowlyst maner that I can I do hartely humble my sellfe vnto yowr mastershype, trustyng in allmyghty god yt yow are in good prosperyte and wellffare wyche I do beseche him to preserve to hys hyghe pleasure & yowre most hartes desyre et cetera, syr I do mekely exhorte yowre mastershype ffrom crystes sake that ye wyll not be dyspleasyd that I (as now beyng so vyly an abiecte off the worlde) do take apone me to wryte vnto suche an hyghe estate, as yowre mastershype is. And to pardon my rudenes bycause I neu vsyd to wryte affore tyme to any that god hathe callyd to suche Rule & governance. The matter ys thys, my name ys Rycharde Hylls, havng bothe my ffather & mother on lyve apou london bryge, & I was here off late apprentyse w^t a good m^{ch}ant callyd nycolas cossyn on london bryge. And yt pleasyd god I do hartely thanke hym, to gyve me some knolege off hys son Jesus cryste. In so moche that on a certayne sonday at affnone when, I was Idell, I thought that I wolde (accordyng to the poore talent that god had gyven me) goo about some good thyng to kepe me ffrom Idellnes. And then I remembryd how that a good honest yong man dyd ones requyre me to shew hym my mynde in wrytyng how I dyd vnderstand that part off sancte James pystell that sayd how abraham was Justyffyd by workes. In so moche that I went about yt & made as long a prorfes about it as ye see in thys treatyse that I have sent yowre mastershype. And I promyse yow yt ys the trew coppy off myn owne handwrytyng howbeyt, no man lyvyng dothe know that I do wryte to yowre mastershype. But now to my purpose my M^r sent me ou^r vj days beffore crystmas laste to be made ffree in fflanders, & when I was there in fflanders I had word that off a truthe the bishope off london had the treatyse that I dyd make and allso knew that I dyd make ytt. In so moche that my M^r hym sellfe when he came ou^r now aft^r crystmas told me the same tale, & because he was lothe to fforsake my servyce he wepte vnto me & exhortyd me to revoke yt & causyd an honest

merchant be syde hym sellfe to have me in examynacyon beffore
 them bothe. And they askyd me Iff I thought mysellfe wyser
 than all other men, & I answeyrd that I cowntyd my sellfe all to
 gythyr noughte & the worde off god to be very truthe, to the wyche
 (quod I) I pray god that I may captyvat all my wytte & worldly
 reason, which worldly reason, as all the scripture teachyth ys
 emnye to god, & thys passyd on, & they callyd me three or iiij
 tymes beffore them agayne, somtyme callyng me opynatyffe &
 somtyme sayng we can not see, but that any off ye all wyll revoke
 rather than to dye. To the wyche I answeyrd that what ther
 opynyons wer wyche revokyd I could not tell, but I dare not
 (quod I) say that all artycles that are fforsaken ffor ffear of dethe
 be ffalls, ffor then I shuld condempne sancte peter. And to be
 shorte I sayde that seying I wrote nothyng agenste the lawe off god,
 nor agēste the ffaythe in crystes bloode, I truste in god wyche will
 graunte (all that we aske in hys sones name) that he wyll neu
 suffre me to dyshonor hys blessyd truthe, not w^t stondyng (sayde I)
 yff I shuld truste any thyng to myn owne strengthe, I could not
 chose but ffall. And a nother tyme they layde many wordly
 raysons agenste me & w^t eu^y one off them myghte the Jewes have
 condempnyd cryste & hys apostells ffor herytykes yff thei wer true
 argumentes, & I shewyd them how s. paul saythe that the naturall
 man can not perceave spūall thynges) w^t many other answeres
 (wyche are to long here to be recyted) as youre mastershype may
 conjecture, that I wolde in suche a case, & then they askyd me
 what mo^{ny} I had and I shewyd them, well quod my M^r I have
 a ffrynde that wyll sende the to one at parys a doctor off
 dyvynyte, wyche wyll laye the matter so playnly affore the that
 thou shalte say, peccavi, and in conclusyon he sayed that he
 wolde not ffor j^ci to helpe me w^t one penny ffor ffear off the
 byshopes, but prayd me to go off my owne costes thyther
 & to ffullfyll hys mynd I am now goyng thyther, and my M^r
 hopyth that I will Returne agayne from crist and then be hys
 servantt, but he muste mysse off hys purpose by godes grace. And
 I am now in a maner vndooⁿ ffor eu^y, excepte y^t yowre mastershype
 do hellpe, ffor my M^r nor no other merchant dare take me
 in to ther servyce ffor ffear off the byshopes. Whereffore I desyre
 yow ffor the passyon off cryste to obtayne that I may serve any
 merchant in any Reallme out off England & the merchantes to
 have no danger therby, nother in englande nor no where ells. And
 yff ye do thus moche ffor me I am bownde to praye for yowre
 M^rshyppe (as I am now neu^theles) as longe as I lyve. Allso then

[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]

[illegible]

[The page contains dense handwritten text in cursive script, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the paper. The ink is dark and the handwriting is somewhat difficult to decipher due to the angle and density of the script.]

sent out of England, & the merchants to have no danger to be / neither
in England nor ^{no} foreign parts, And yet ye do this more for me I am bound to
pay for yours of ~~the~~ ^{as I am now not free} ~~the~~ ^{as I am now not free} ~~the~~ ^{as I am now not free} ~~the~~ ^{as I am now not free}
gladly gave me to occupy for you in France & yet ye write not yet and
have many that would / but I desire your master / shew you that ye will not
be dissatisfied that I write no better shew you / for the man
that brought ye and did not shew me in general manner / & because my
money ye attempt from / I thought it not best to discuss the matter any
longer In respect to your master / shew you that ye will not
be dissatisfied you have ordered many that have had need of you
for I wrote a letter to my poor father & mother moving them to labour
to your master / shew you for the same purpose / shew you that affords off men /
ye desire them to deliver ye into you / And yet ye cause that my father
and mother do labour to your master / shew you for ye / I pray you for gods
sake to be so good unto me as to shew ye an answer to the one or the
but I am uncertain whether ye dare speak for me or no / for
my father says that ye have a commandment to the contrary / shew you
your gracious master / shew you at ye to me but the lords have you allow
in the blessed shew you a man /

The your daily orator R. G. 1556
late appointed to my lord's office at
the house of the archbishop of London
brought

1915-1916 - 1917-1918
 1919-1920 - 1921-1922
 1923-1924 - 1925-1926

my M^r wulde gladly have me to occupye for hym in ffraunce & yff he durste nott yett are there many that wolde. Syr I desyre yowre Mastershype that ye wyll not be dyspleasyd that I wryte no better ffaverly vnto you, ffor the man that brought thys ouⁿ dyd not gyve me ij howres warnyng & because my moⁿy ys allmost goon, I thought yt not beste to defierre the matter any lenger In wrytyng to yowre mastershype, enspecyaly sythe I have harde how gracyously you have orderyd many that have had nede off yow syr I wrote a letter to my poore ffather & mother movyng them to labour to yowre mastershype ffor the same purpose, sayng that a ffrende off myn, dyd desyre them to delyuⁿ thys vnto yow. And yff yt chanse that my ffather and mother do labour to yowre m^shype ffor yt, I pray yow ffor godes sake to be so good vnto me as to gyve them an answeare other one or other but I am vncertayne whyther they dare speake ffor me or no, ffor my M^r saythe that he hathe a comāndment to the contrary, nomore to yowre gracyous mastershype at thys time but the lorde have you alwais in hys blessyd kepyng amen.

Be your dayly orator, R. Hylls late apprentys wth
 Nycolas Cossyn at the sygne off the anker on
 london bryge.

[Endorsed] Richard Hill.

[Addressed] Vnto the ryght honorable M^r cromewell be thys
 delyueryd.

APPENDIX 3.

ELIZABETH HILLES TO THE SAME.

Pleasyth it your good mastershipe ffor crystes sake toremembre my pore sonne Rychard Hylls, the wiche sent your master shipe a letter ffrom roone, wher as he now lyves very pourely w^t out the holpe of his ffryndes. Wherefore I besyche youre master shipe ffor crystes sake that it wold please you to sende ffor his master whos name is nycolas cossyn dwelyng on the bryge in london, he is one of the ffelyshipe of mchānt taylors, and y^t it wyll please your master shipe to ynquyre of hym what he yntendes to doo w^t hym, ffor I thynke he wold be glade to have hym, but he standes in such ffere he dares not take hym In moch more ffere than I trust he nedes, with the helpe of god and youre good master shipe that he mav

thatt my sonne shold not losse his ffredom So that his master nor my sonne shall nother of them ronne in any danger ffor ther as he is now he is w^t owt the helpe other of his master or of any other of his ffrynde and goes from towne to towne with out any socoure the wich brynge me his poure mother in such great hevynes that with owt the helpe of god and your good master shipe I cann not have no cōmffort, wherffor I be seche youre master shipe ffor crystes sake to cōmfort me and hym att your master shipes pleasure, and in your so doyng he with all his ffryndes ar dayly bonde to pray ffor you and agayne I trust god shall rewarde you who leves no good dede vnre warded, Wryttyn

By youre poure bede woman,

ELSABETH HYLL.

[Endorsed] Elizabeth Hill.

APPENDIX 4.

THE TRADE OF SIR THOMAS WHITE.

Sir Thomas White was a member of the Merchant Taylors Company; the occupation of the members in 1560 was connected with tayloring or clothing, and it is desirable to ascertain in what way he was connected with the occupation of a clothworker. These facts are to be gathered from the Merchant Taylors' records.

1st. That he occupied tenter grounds with racks for stretching cloth. 2nd. That he purchased woollen cards. 3rd. That he employed men to rowe and shere cloths.¹

Do these facts determine his occupation, and what was such?

The foregoing statement was submitted to a Gloucestershire Clothier, and he sent this reply.

"It is clear that Sir Thomas White was a maker of cloth, a clothier, from the possession of 'tenter' or 'rack' grounds as they are now termed.

"The 'woollen cards' are the 'cards,' or wire staples set in a foundation for scribbling the wool.

"Men employed to 'rowe' the cloth were formerly called 'trickers,' now roughers, as they 'rough' (pronounced rōw) the cloth with teazles.

¹ *Chronicon Rusticum Commerciale* or *Memoirs of Lord* ——— by John Smith, LL.B., 2 vols., printed for T. Osborne at Gray's Inn, London, 1747.

"To 'shere,' was to 'shear' off the too long wool raised on the cloth, by means of a sort of very large scissors, now done by a perpetual cutter."

APPENDIX 5.

MASTER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1553-4.

The charge for the fornature of 30 men sent into Kent ageynst the Rebells there the 27th of January:

ARTYLORY.					£	s.	d.
Item paid for 12 Almayn ¹ Ryvetts @ 12s. the pece	..	..	..	..	7	4	0
Item paid for 5 Sallets ² .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
Item paid for 5 bowes .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
Item paid for 14 bills ³ at 20d. le pece .. .. .	..	..	..	..	1	3	4
Item paid for 12 dosyn points ⁴ .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	2	0
Item paid for 6 brasers ⁵ .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	1	0
Item paid for 6 bowe stryngs .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	0	3
Item paid for 6 shotyng gloves ⁶ .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	3	0
Item paid for 9 swords .. .. .	..	..	..	..	1	4	0
Item paid for 8 daggers .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	4	0
Item paid for 8 gyrdels .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	1	6
Item paid for bred and bere to them .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	2	0
Item paid in prést-money ⁷ to them .. .. .	..	..	..	..	3	0	0
Item paid to the Armorer for harnessing of them and mending there harnes .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	10	2
Item paid more for a bowe stryng .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	0	4
Item paid more for a dagger .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	0	6
Item paid for lynyng of there gorgetts ⁸ .. .. .	..	..	..	..	0	1	0
Summa					£14	17	1

¹ Body armour for foot soldiers, so called from the rivetts working in slots, thereby giving greater flexibility to the whole. They were introduced into England at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

² Salades, headpieces of one piece of metal and not unlike a sou'-wester. They were fastened under the chin by a strap and buckle.

³ Staff weapons with heads resembling a modern bill hook.

⁴ Laces of leather or worsted or silk, with metal tags and like shoe-laces. They were used in numerous places for fastening portions of armour or garments.

⁵ Leather guards for the left fore arm, which was thus protected from the bow-string when released.

⁶ Leather gloves to protect the fingers of the right hand in shooting.

⁷ Enlistment money which has survived until modern times.

⁸ Armour to protect the throat and neck. Like helmets and other pieces of armour these were lined to protect the wearer from the unyielding metal.

PAYMENTS.

The charge of the ffurniture for 60 men w^t harnes w^{ch} kept London bridge contynually duryng the tyme y^t the Rebels of Kent laye in Southwark, viz. :

ARTYLORY.

Item p ^d for 70 payre of almayn Ryvetts at 12s. le peyre	£	s.	d.
and for a corselett 40s. summa	44	0	0
Item paid for 24 bills at 2s. 4d. le pece	2	16	0
Item paid for 13 bowes	1	6	0
Item paid for 8 bills @ 2s. 8d. le pece	1	1	4
Item paid for 18 shef of arrowes @ 3s.	2	14	0
Item paid for 18 brasers	0	1	6
Item paid for 18 shotyng gloves	0	9	0
Item paid for bowe stryngs	0	1	0
Item paid for 108½ yades of white at 8d. for their cotes	3	16	8
Item paid for 2 yards red carsen ¹ for crossys	0	4	0
Item paid for makyng the said cots	1	0	8
Item paid for bryngyng y ^e harnes to y ^e hall from y ^e armorer's hous	0	0	3
Item paid for 4 ^{lb.} candills spent in y ^e nyght at suche tyme as the souldyers mett at y ^e hall	0	0	8
Item paid for drynck for them	0	0	4
Item paid for fyer	0	0	4
Item paid for a half hyde for lethers ² for there harnessys	0	3	4
Item paid to bylby and others armorers for mendyng the harnes y ^t said tyme	0	10	0
Item paid for a dyñ made to them at the Sonne in Cornhill	1	4	6
Summa	£59	9	7

APPENDIX 6.

AS TO THE SITE OF MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL, 1561.

The parcels in the conveyance are thus described :

"All those West Gate House, edifices, and buildings, chambers, cellars, and sollars, parcel of his great messuage situate, lying,

¹ Kersey, a course cloth of which were cut the red crosses of St. George, worn on the back and breast of English soldiers' white coats.

² Leather was plentifully used for straps and attachments of armour.

and being in Parish of St. Laurence, and also all that large court or yard to the same belonging, all that winding stair or vice of stones at the south end of the said large court on the east side thereof leading from the upper part of the grounds of the said yard to the leads over the chapel room there, as also leading into, by, and through the two little entries or galleries in the south end of said large court, and also all the said two little entries or galleries together with part of the said chapel room, being in south end of the said court are certain rooms of the said John Hettie. The same part of the said chapels stretching towards the south on the carpenters yard, these being now in the tenure of Thomas Watts, carpenter.

“All which premises were late part of said great messuage, late property of Thomas, Earl of Sussex.”

APPENDIX 7.

AS TO EDMUND SPENSER BEING A SCHOLAR IN THE MERCHANT TAYLOR'S SCHOOL.

We are indebted to Mr. R. B. Knowles,¹ for the discovery that the poet was a scholar in the Company's school; but whether he was the son of Nicholas Spenser, the Warden of 1574, with whom Mulcaster had some dispute; or John Spenser, a free journeyman clothworker, also connected with the Company, is a matter of conjecture.

Amongst those who were often present at the school examinations prior to 1569 were Alexander Nowell, the Dean of St. Paul's, and Thomas Watts, the Archdeacon of Middlesex, and before these visitors Spenser must have appeared. There is no record in the Company's possession of his admission to the School, but as he was born in 1552, he was probably one of Mulcaster's first scholars, and continued with him until he went up to Cambridge, on the 20th May, 1569, and was entered at Pembroke Hall as a sizar. The evidence connecting him with the school is as follows:—At the date of 28th April, 1569, under the heading of “given to poor schollers of divers gramare scholles,” there is this entry: “To Edmund Spensere, Scholler of the M'chante Taylers Schollers at his going to Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, xs.” The accounts in which this entry occurs are those of the executors to Robert

¹ 4 Report on Hist. MS., page 407.

APPENDIX 9.¹LETTER OF SIR THOMAS WHITE'S EXECUTORS TO MAYOR AND
ALDERMEN OF COVENTRY.

After our righte hartie commendaçõs, Whereas our late Testator Sir Thōs White, Whose soul Christ pardon by express words in his testam^t did not only require you, But also the Mr Ws. & Assts. of his own Co^v of Merchant Taylors that for the love of Almighty God & for the love & favor that he hath had & borne unto you & to his own Comp^y you w^{ld} make assurance immediately after his decease unto me Dame Joan White, then his wife, of one Annuity or yearly rent of 46*l.* by yere with that 24*l.* that is by you already assured unto me, 'To be paid unto me out of such your lands as you have assurance of by his good meanes at two termes or feastes in the year, that is to saye, at the feaste of Th'annunciaçõn of our Ladye & S^t. Michael th'arcaũgell by even portions as in p^{te} & recompense of such Joynto^r as the said Sir Thomas was & standeth bounden to leave unto me, then his wife, as by a dõbte of that parte of his testament w^h we do send unto you & hereincased dothe appeare.

And forsomuch as the said Sir Thos. White in his lifetime did make his earnest suit by his letters w^h were delivered unto you by his president to have you to make assurance unto me, the s^d Dame Joan, then his wife, of the same sum of 46*l.* by year during my natural life, And that you thereupon very discreetly to the great contentation & quieting of his mind w^h was sore troubled for the accomplishment thereof, did advertise him by the mouth of the s^d president that you were & w^{ld} be ready at all times to accomplish his request in that behalf made so far forth as the M^r & W^s of the Co^v of Merchant Taylors w^{ld} assent thereunto & become bound to take no advantage of your bond that you stand bounde in unto them. Wherefore these are heartily to request you that you would have due consideration of the premises according to the trust & confidence that the s^d Sir Thos. White reposed in you for the s^d assurance by you to be made unto me, his s^d late wife, of the full of the said 46*l.* during my natural life, & that the same may be by you now accomplished & performed with as much convenient speed as you may, And upon your said assurance thereof to me made, you shall understand that the said M^r and W^s of the Merchant Tayllors have promised unto me very firmly and

¹ I am indebted to Messrs. Kirby, of Coventry, for this and other letters to the Mayor and Aldermen of that city.

willingly that they will be ready at all times to make unto you such sufficient discharge as by your learned Counsell & theirs shall be thought reasonable for the payment of the said whole sum of 46*l.* by yere during my s^d natural life, So that you cause that old bond of 500*l.* w^h they made unto you for the discharge of 24*l.* parcel of the 46*l.* w^h you have already assured to be delivered & surrendered unto them upon the sealing of such other new bondes unto you as shall be between you & them agreed upon for your discharge for the payment of the said whole sum of 46*l.* aforesaid.

And in this doing you shall do none injury for that you do but only accomplish the desire & earnest request made by the donor of your landes w^h is but verie reasonable, And therefore we for our partes trust & do require that you will willingly satisfy his request & ours in this behalf made unto you, So that thereby we may be the more able to discharge the trust that he hath committed unto us w^{ch} otherwise w^{ld} be (as God defends) to the overthrow of a number of Scholars that he hath appointed to have continuance & place in his late erected College, And hereof we pray you of your answer in writing by this bearer our loving and trusty friend, Mr. Moseley, secondary—who can inform you more at large of the premises to whom we pray you to give credit in that behalf. Fare you well—from London the 20th of March, 1566.

Your loving friendes,

WILLIAM CARDELL.

JOHAN WHYTE.

APPENDIX 10.

ST. JOHN'S, OXFORD.—STIPENDS OF THE COLLEGE STAFF.¹

Each was to have and receive of the yearly revenues as follows :—

	£.	s.	d.
Item, to the President for his wage, commons, and livery	20	0	0
Item, to ten Masters of Arts and Senior Fellows, 8 <i>l.</i> to every of them	80	0	0
To twenty B.A., 5 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> for each	110	0	0
To twenty Scholars, 4 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> each	90	0	0
To three Chaplains, 7 <i>l.</i> each	21	0	0
To three Singing-men, whereof one to be an organ player, 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> each ...	20	0	0

¹ Entered in MS. book after 18th January, 1566–6, incorporating that College with the University, but not dates.

	£	s.	d.
To six Choristers for ditto, 4 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> each	26	0	0
To the Chief Cook for his wages and livery	5	0	0
To the Under Cook	3	6	8
To the Head Butler	4	0	0
To the Under Butler	2	0	0
To the men appointed Porters and President's men each 4 <i>l.</i>	16	0	0
To the Barber for wage	1	0	0
To the Launder for ditto	1	6	8
To the Steward of the Court	1	0	0
To the Vice-President	2	0	0
To the Dean of Divinity	1	6	8
To the Dean of Arts	1	6	8
To the Greek, Rhetoric, and Logic Readers each 3 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	10	0	0
To the two Bowcers	2	13	4
To the Steward of the Kitchen	1	6	8
For the Gandy Days	10	0	0
For Decrements	3	6	8
For Strangers, 8 <i>l.</i> , for Almsmen, 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> , for Candles, 2 <i>l.</i>	13	10	0
For carriage of Wood 7 <i>l.</i> , for Implements, to the Woodman	10	6	8
Sum total of all the forsaid charges	£456	10	0

APPENDIX 11.

ST. JOHN'S OXFORD.—EXPENDITURE 1591.

There were four tables. The allowance for each person *in meat* by the week was 1*s.* 10*d.* for the first table, 11*d.* for the second, 9*d.* for the third, and 7½*d.* for the fourth. In bread and drink, the same for all tables (*quantum*), 9½*d.*

At the first table sat thirteen persons, as the President and his Vice, nine B.D's., and two Stewards.

At the second, twenty-seven persons, M.A., and B.L.C., and Chaplain.

At the third, thirteen persons, B.A. Scholars, Fellows, and Scholars.

At the fourth seven persons, as two President's men, Sexton, Porter, Cook, and two Butlers.

The tables cost weekly and yearly for each person :

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	
The first	0	2	7½	6	17	7	total	89	8	7
The second	0	1	8½	4	9	11	„	121	7	9
The third	0	1	6½	4	1	3	„	52	16	3
The fourth	0	1	5	3	13	8	„	25	15	8

Item, Saturday suppers upon every such Saturday as is not a fasting day, viz., forty Saturdays 6*s.* 4*d.* each, 12*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Item, increase of Commons upon thirty-one principal feast days, whereof

Christmas day and Midsummer 13s. 4d. a piece, and the rest 6s. 8d. and four quarter prayer days, 5s. each, 12l.

Item, increase of commons on certain holy days being no gandy days, in number ten, at 2s. 8d. a piece, 1l. 6s. 8d.

Sums of the commons and gandies per annum amounts to 315l. 8s. 3d.

All the sums collected : commons, &c., 315l. 8s. 3d, stipends, 165l. 16s., liveries, 44l. 10s. 8d., poor and tenths, 25l. 17s., miscellaneous (fuel, furniture, reparations, strangers, 13l. 6s. 8d., foreign, law expenses, 40l.), 151l. 13s. 4d. Total 703l. 5s. 3d.

The receipts being only 535l. 6s. 8½d.

And so the expenses exceed the receipts in 167l. 18s. 6½d.

APPENDIX 12.

EXTRACTS FROM STATUTES OF 16th JUNE, 1881, RELATING TO MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOLARSHIPS.

Saint John Baptist College was founded by Sir Thomas White, Knight, and Alderman of the City of London, under a Licence granted by King Philip and Queen Mary by Letters Patent in the year of our Lord 1555, "ad honorem Sanctissimæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, Patris Filii et Spiritus Sancti, et ad totius cœlestis hierarchiæ gloriam, et ad Christianæ religionis augmentum."

STATUTE V.—SCHOLARSHIPS.

1. The number of Scholarships within the College shall be not less than twenty-eight, of which six shall be Open and twenty-two appropriated as herein-after mentioned to the several Schools herein-after named. One of the Open Scholarships shall always be called the Holmes Scholarship.

3. Of the appropriated Scholarships, fifteen shall be appropriated to Merchant Taylors' School, two to the school of Coventry, two to the School of Bristol, two to the School of Reading, and one to the School of Tunbridge, which Scholarships are herein called the Merchant Taylors', Coventry, Bristol, Reading, and Tunbridge Scholarships respectively.

(b) The Merchant Taylors' and Bristol Scholarships shall be tenable until the beginning of the University Term following the expiration of two years from the day of election, and shall then determine, unless the President and Fellows shall by resolution have declared themselves satisfied with the industry and good conduct of the Scholar, in which case his Scholarship shall be

renewed for a further term of three years to be reckoned from the expiration of the two years from the day of his election. At the end of such three years there shall be no further extension.

(d) Before declaring themselves satisfied with the industry and good conduct of any Scholar the President and Fellows shall receive and consider a Report concerning him laid before them by the Tutors and Lecturers of the College at or immediately before the time of their making such declaration.

5. The emoluments of every Open Scholarship shall be 80*l.* per annum, inclusive of all allowances; the emoluments of every other Scholarship shall be 100*l.* per annum, inclusive of all allowances.

9. The Merchant Taylors' Scholarships, when vacant, shall be filled up at Merchant Taylors' School, or at such other convenient place as the President of the College and the Master of the Company of Merchant Taylors' shall appoint, on the 11th day of June in each year, or, in case that day shall be Sunday, on the day following, by the election of boys educated in the said School for the two years at least last preceding, who have not exceeded the age of nineteen years. The electors shall be the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors, the President or Vice-President of the College, and two Fellows of the College, to be annually appointed by the President and Fellows for that purpose. The candidates shall be examined in such subjects and in such manner as the electors shall appoint; and those candidates shall be elected who, after such examination, shall appear to the electors to be of the greatest merit and most fit to be Scholars of the College: Provided that the concurrence of the said President or Vice-President and the said two Fellows, or of the major part of them, shall be requisite to every election. In default of candidates of sufficient merit from Merchant Taylors' School, the vacant Scholarship shall be thrown open for that turn to general competition, and the election shall be held by the President and Fellows, in the manner provided with reference to Open Scholarships.

12. If any Open or appropriated Scholarship shall become vacant otherwise than by effluxion of time, the President and Fellows may, if they think fit, with the consent of the Governors of the School (if any) to which the Scholarship is appropriated, defer holding an election to it until such election would have been held had the vacancy occurred by effluxion of time.

13. Every Scholar who shall marry, or shall be elected to a Fellowship in the College, or to a Fellowship or Scholarship in any other College, shall thereupon vacate his Scholarship.

14. The President, Deans of Arts, Tutors, and Lecturers, being Fellows, or a majority of them, may make and vary regulations respecting the residence of Scholars within the University, and respecting the mode in which, and the conditions under which, leave of absence may be granted to any Scholar; and may enforce obedience to such regulations and the discipline and good conduct of the Scholar by any penalty short of deprivation. The power of depriving a Scholar shall be vested in the President and Fellows, subject to such appeal to the Visitor as is herein-after provided.

STATUTE VI.—SENIOR SCHOLARSHIPS.

1. There shall be established and maintained within the College four Senior Scholarships. The President and Fellows shall after examination elect to the said Scholarships persons, being members of the University, who shall have been educated at Merchant Taylors' School for two years at least last preceding their matriculation, and shall not have exceeded twenty-eight Terms from matriculation. Every such person elected to one of the said Senior Scholarships shall retain the same for a period of four years, and shall receive emoluments amounting to 150*l.* per annum in respect thereof, but shall not be entitled to rooms within the College.

2. Every person holding one of the said Scholarships may, if guilty of grave misconduct, be deprived of it by the President and Fellows (but subject to the right of appeal to the Visitor herein-after provided), and shall vacate it if he come into possession of real or personal estate yielding 200*l.* per annum.

3. In case of there being no candidate for a vacant Senior Scholarship, who in the judgment of the President and Fellows shall be qualified to hold such Senior Scholarship, it shall be in the power of the President and Fellows either to hold a fresh examination within twelve months, or to throw the Scholarship open to competition among members of the University generally not having exceeded twenty-eight Terms from matriculation.

STATUTE XVIII.—THE VISITOR.

1. The Bishop of Winchester shall be the Visitor of the College; or, in the case of his incapacity or absence in foreign parts, the Vicar-General of the diocese; or in the case of a vacancy of the see, the guardian of the spiritualities of the see.

2. It shall be lawful for the Visitor in person, or by his commissary or commissaries duly appointed, once in every ten years (or oftener, if and whenever he shall deem it expedient for enforc-

ing the due observance of the Statutes), without any request or application by the President and Fellows or any of its members, to visit the College, and to exercise at such visitation all the powers which are by law incident to the office of general Visitor of a College. It shall be lawful for the Visitor at any such visitation, or if he shall think fit, at other times, to require the President and Fellows to answer in writing touching any matter as to which the Visitor may deem it expedient to inquire, for the purpose of satisfying himself whether the Statutes are duly observed.

3. The Visitor shall not appoint as his commissary the Chancellor of the University, the Vice-Chancellor, either of the Proctors, or any deprived Fellow of the College.

4. As often as any question shall arise on which the President and Fellows shall be unable to agree, depending wholly or in part on the construction of any of the Statutes of the College, it shall be lawful for the President and Fellows, or for the President, or for any three of the Fellows, to submit the same to the Visitor; and the Visitor may declare what is the true construction of such Statute or Statutes with reference to the case submitted to him.

5. It shall be lawful for the President, or for any Fellow, if he shall conceive himself aggrieved by any act or decision of the President and Fellows, or for any Scholar (including a Senior Scholar) who may have been deprived of his Scholarship, to appeal against such act or decision or sentence to the Visitor; and it shall be lawful for the Visitor to adjudicate on such appeal, and to disallow and annul such act or decision, and to reverse or vary such sentence, as he shall deem just.

6. It shall be lawful for the Visitor, on the complaint of the President or any of the Fellows, to disallow and annul any order or resolution of the President and Fellows, which shall, in the Visitor's judgment, be repugnant to any of the Statutes of the College.

7. If at any time it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the Visitor, that, owing to any cause, the revenues of the College are, or without the exercise of the power hereby conferred would be likely to become, insufficient to meet the charges created by these Statutes and to defray the rest of its necessary or ordinary expenditure, it shall be lawful for the Visitor on a petition in writing presented to him by order of the President and Fellows at a General Meeting specially summoned for that purpose, to direct that any vacant Fellowship or Open Scholarship shall, either permanently or during any limited period, be kept vacant, or that the charges created by these Statutes shall be rateably diminished,

either permanently or for a limited period: Provided, that no such diminution shall be made in any charge imposed by Statute XVI, unless thirty days' notice thereof shall have been previously given to the Vice-Chancellor of the University.

APPENDIX 13.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPERTORY OF THE CORPORATION RELATING TO SIR W. HARPER'S CASE.¹

1. Item, the petition exhibited here unto the Court this day for and on the behalf of Sir W. Harper, Knight and Alderman, against William Priestwood, being here openly read and the contents thereof well perceived and understood, it was ordered by the Court that Mr. Offley, Mr. Chester, Mr. Rowe, Mr. Alyn, Mr. Hayward, and Mr. Ramsay, Aldermen, shall take the pains to hear and examine the matter of controversy mentioned within the said petition, and namely, the truth and validity of the deed of gift supposed and alleged by the said Priestwood to be made unto him by the said Mr. Harper, and to make report unto this Court of that that they shall find therein with convenient speed."—26th January, 1569, Rep. xvi, 512.

2. Upon hearing at large the matter between Sir W. Harper and Priestwood, it was decided to defer decision for the assistance of Mr. Recorder; but in the mean season Sir W. Chester, Knight, and Mr. Alderman Ramsey shall have the oversight, consideration, and understanding of the good and quiet usage of the said Sir. W. Harper by them of his house, and the good government, demeanour, and behaviour of the servants and people of his said house towards him.—25th May, 1570, Rep. xvii, 18.

3. Sir W. Garrett, Sir T. Offley, Sir. W. Chester, Sir R. Martin, Sir T. Rowe, and four other Aldermen appointed to consider and finally end the dispute between Sir W. Harper and W. Prestwood and Beterice his wife.—27th June, 1570, Rep. xvii, 31.

4. Nicholas Thornton on behalf of Sir W. Harper and W. Prestwood appeared before the Court. Four Aldermen appointed as Committee on the matter.—14th September, 1570, fol. 54.

5. A Court of Aldermen called for to-morrow for consideration of matters in variance between Sir W. Harper and others.—26th September, 1570, fol. 57.

6. One of the Clerks in Chancery produced 70*l.* he held for

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Harcourt Chambers for these extracts.

decision of the Court of Aldermen, in the contention Sir W. Harper and Priestwood.—28th September, 1570, 59.

Decided that neither Sir W. Harper's life estate in certain land nor the reversion Priestwood's wife has in the same lands nor yet any goods, chattels, or jewels given to the said Priestwood's wife by the Lady Harper in her life time with Sir W. Harper's consent, shall be within the compass of the said compromise—all present contention to cease. (W. Albany, surety for Sir W. Harper).—26th October, 1570, 69.

7. An inventory to be taken of all Sir W. Harper's goods and chattels if he will thereto consent.—15th March, 1570, 124.

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¹ The reader is indebted to Mr. A. Ormsby Dunn for the preparation of this Index.
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LONDON :
HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

(To be put in at end of Vol. II, after the Indices.)

ADDENDA.

Part I, page 35, note.

It would seem from the will of John De Ikelyngham, tailor, dated 22nd April, 1349, that livery robes were made the subject of bequest. (*See London Wills* (1889), p. 647. See also p. 99, note).

Page 59, note.

The Guild, in regard to the possession of a Common Hall, and to the obligation resting upon its members to assemble there on the summons of the Master, was an organization most effective for communicating to the citizens the orders of the Crown or of the Lord Mayor, of which two illustrations may be taken, as I have not found them elsewhere from the despatches of foreign ambassadors resident in London during the Tudor period.

The first is an incident happening in the church of the Austin Friars in Broad Street, adjacent to which both Chapuys and Cromwell resided, and at whose services they and King Henry the 8th occasionally attended.¹ It arose out of the unpopularity of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn and a sermon preached by the Prior on the succeeding Easter day, 1533. The Prior was George Browne,² who had been educated with the Augustines at Holywell, near Oxford, but had adopted the principles of the Reformation, and at a later period was promoted by Henry 8th to the See of Dublin to reform the Church of Ireland.

In his sermon, according to Chapuy's report of it to Charles 5th, "he expressly recommended his audience to offer up prayers for the health and welfare of Queen Anne." "At which recommendation," continues Chapuys, "the assistants were so astonished, so sorry, and so shocked that almost all left the church in high displeasure, and with sad countenances, without waiting for the rest of the sermon, which was only half over. At which the King was so much disgusted that he sent word to the Lord Mayor that unless he wished to displease him immensely he must take care that the thing did not happen again, and he gave orders that in future no one should dare to speak against his marriage."

"In virtue of which order the Lord Mayor caused all the Crafts and Guilds to assemble in their various Halls and commanded them, under pain of incurring the Royal indignation, not only to abstain from murmuring about the King's marriage, but to command their own journeymen and servants, and a still more difficult task, their own wives to refrain from speaking disparagingly about the new Queen." Chapuys, to the Emperor Charles V, 27th April, 1533 (*Span. Col.*, vol. 4, Part 2, page 646).

The second illustration is taken from the despatch of the Venetian Ambassador to the Doge.

At the date of the despatch King Philip was unpopular with the citizens, and in December, 1555, a quantity of books printed in English were clandestinely dis-

¹ Chapuy's despatch, 25th February, 1536 (351) referring to Cromwell's proposal to meet him for a conference in the church to avoid the suspicions of the French Ambassador.

² Cooper's *Athenæ Cant.*, vol. 4, p. 646, and authorities there cited.

tributed throughout London concerning him and his method of governing his subjects in Naples and Milan.

Possibly acting at the instigation of the Court and with a view to discover the author, the Lord Mayor "issued his precept to the Masters of the Guilds for each of them to summon the Freemen to their respective Halls to make diligent inquisition as to the place from which those books could have come, for the purpose, if possible, of discovering the author, and to order all persons having any copies of the book to take them to the Lord Mayor."

The Guilds met on the 2nd December, but the result is not stated in the despatch.¹

Page 60.

As Stow places Fauconer in the list of honourable citizens and worthy men, a few words may be added respecting him. He was a member of the Mercers Company, and a landowner in the Ward of Bridge. It may be pointed out that Stow credits him with two transactions which Riley's Memorials show to have been carried out during his Mayoralty, but by the Corporation. These were the loan of 10,000 marks to King Henry 5th, for his wars in France, made on the pledge of the Crown Jewels, which are enumerated elsewhere,² and the erection of Moorgate in place of the postern there, and draining the adjacent fields for the recreation of the citizens.³

His Mayoralty was probably one of importance, for the precedence of the Mayor over all other subjects in the City, which we have already adverted to, was conceded to him,⁴ and Stow assures his readers that he did many things for the good of the City.

He is known to have taken an active part in putting the laws in force against the Lollards,⁵ for he arrested on the suspicion of having relapsed into heresy, John Claydon, a currier, who was brought up before the Archbishop of Canterbury in St. Paul's, on the 17th August, 1415, for having in his possession certain books (one being the "Lanthorn of Light," which the Lord Mayor had seized), and upon which Claydon was arraigned, condemned, and burnt at Smithfield.⁶

This conviction was deemed an event of sufficient importance to be made the subject of a special letter, dated the 22nd August, from the Mayor and Corporation to the King, then with the army in France, and Claydon is therein described "as the arch-parent of heretical depravity."⁷

The contemporary records would lead us to think that Fauconer was not a popular man, for he did not escape slander. On the 12th February, 1411, a fellow Mercer, Geoffrey Loveye, who had been his servant or apprentice, called him "a false man," and charged him with making an illegal distraint upon him,⁸ which and other words, "as that Falconer had almost utterly destroyed him," Loveye repeated in 1413, and for utterance thereof was sent to prison.⁹

A more grievous accusation was made against him. In July, 1416, in reference to the Lollards, it was alleged by one John Russell, that Richard Surmyn, a baker, being declared a heretic and delivered to the secular arm was afterwards pardoned by Letters Patent granted by the King, but that Fauconer (as late Mayor and Escheator) caused both Surmyn and the Letters Patent to be burnt in West Smithfield. Upon this accusation Fauconer was arrested and sent to the Tower till he found bail in 1,000*l.*, but ultimately Russell was condemned to the Pillory for this slander, and betook himself to the Sanctuary at Westminster before his arrest could be made.¹⁰ Lastly, in July, 1418, we find one William Foucher sum-

¹ Cal. Ven. Papers, vol. 6, p. 270. See also Part 2, p. 244 and 299.

² Riley's Memorials, p. 613.

³ Page 614.

⁴ Page 28.

⁵ Part 2, p. 62.

⁶ Foxe, p. 531-4.

⁷ Riley, p. 617.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 576.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 593.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 630-3.

moned before the Mayor and Aldermen for using insulting words towards Fauconer.¹ The accused had disobeyed Fauconer contrary to his oath, and was disfranchised. Further, he insulted him, and therefore was imprisoned.² As the insult was public the prisoner was to be led with his head uncovered through the High Street of Cheape.

Page 150, note.

Sir John Yorke was knighted by Edward 6th in the second year of his reign, "when he rode from Hampton Court to Southwark Place, and having dined there, he knyghted Yorke as the Sheriff, and rode through the City to Westminster."

Page 237.

Barker's Bible was brought to the notice of the Guilds by a precept from the Lord Mayor of 6th October, 1578, issued on his petition to the Court of Aldermen, asking them to aid him in the sale thereof amongst the citizens. The terms of sale are set out in a Broadside of 1578 (No. 70), which is in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries. The cost was 20 shillings unbound and 24 shillings bound, which latter sum the Company paid.

Pages 165 and 187.

It will be noticed that Robert Dowe refers in his trust deed to a "Printed Prayer" to be delivered to his almsmen on their appointment.

All trace of this prayer has disappeared from the Company's records, but amongst the Broadside (No. 110) of the Society of Antiquaries is found "A Prayer to be said by the poor, needy and aged Almsmen of the Company of the Merchant Taylors for the blessed charity of a good brother of that Company."

Regarding this prayer, Mr. Lemon in his Catalogue adds this note at p. 37, "As the word *queene* in this prayer is obliterated and the pronoun *her* changed into *his*, the prayer is assigned to the 1st year of James I.

The prayer is in these words:—

"Oh Almighty God and Heavenly Father which by thy great wisdom and power hath created and made heaven and earth, the sea and all things contained therein, and hast made man thy most principal and excellent creature and given him wisdom to rule and govern all other creatures with commandment to honor and serve thee, and to do such works as are most acceptable to thy Godwill, and of thine abundant grace hast endued thy servant, a good Brother of our Company, with that pitiful mind to consider his poor and needy Brethren and to be the donor of this blessed Charity whereby both I and others, poor and needie aged, are daily relieved. And as I do acknowledge the same to proceed of thy Grace, so I give Thee most high and hearty thanks therefor, and with my whole heart I humbly beseech Thee to bless the true Catholic Church here on earth and in it this Church of England, and long to preserve our noble Queene with her Honorable Council, and to prosper our Company, the Merchant Taylors in general and every particular member of the same, and to assist them with thy continual favors to show more such deeds of mercy and pitie for the relief of the poor distressed for the which thou hast promised of thy mercy special reward by the mouth of Jesus Christ our Saviour. And likewise I beseech thee Oh Lord to keep and preserve this noble City of London, and to prosper it with the blessings of health and wealth, under our most Godly and peaceable prince, and to give unto all the Companies and members of the same the grace to shew themselves always thankfull in doing such workes as are best pleasing to thy Divine

¹ *Ibid*, p. 663.

² Page 616.

Majestie. Grant this, Oh Father, for Jesus Christ, thy dear Sonne's sake, to whom with the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, 3 persons in one, Eternal Godhead, be all honour, dominion, power, and glory both now and for evermore." Amen.

There is no printer's name.

Page 344.

In 1889 the Common Council of London passed an Act to alter this form. The Act recites a resolution of the Court of 15th November, 1888, that an alternative form of indenture should be allowed, and that the Charter of 15 Edward 3rd granted the Common Council the power to amend any custom deemed hard or defective.

It was, therefore, enacted :—

1st, in *future* bindings it should be permissible to vary the form of indenture (1) By providing for the term being for a period of 4 years and upwards; (2) By omitting the covenant by the apprentice not to marry during the term; (3) By omitting the master's covenant to find meat, drink, apparel, lodging, and all other necessities for his apprentice, and substituting therefor a covenant by the master to pay wages to the apprentice, provided that the term shall not be greater than 8 or less than 4 years.

2ndly. In such varied form the master may require a covenant from the father to provide such apprentice with meat, drink, apparel, lodging, and all other necessities, and indemnifying the master therefrom.

The form of indenture is set out in the schedule.

Part II, page 1.

Yakesley, by will of December, 1356, desired to be buried before the high altar of St. John the Baptist in the parish Church of St. Martin's de Oteswych, and gave his "mansion" with four shops to certain devisees of his will. If this were the same mansion as that on which the Merchant Taylors' Hall now stands, it is certain our title to it must be of a later date than 1356. "London Wills" (1889), p. 695.

Page 113.

That the Lord Mayor was not elected, as of course, but was actually chosen by his fellow citizens, influenced more or less by the Crown, is illustrated from the contents of a despatch written in October, 1535, to the Emperor Charles 5 by Chapuys, the Spanish Ambassador here, and recently published (1888).¹ He informs the Emperor that Cromwell told him "that he came up to London from the King's Court for the sole object to have a Lord Mayor elected to his taste, or to persuade the Londoners to accept one of his own nomination, for the state of affairs was such that it required a man of authority, credit, and experience to fill that post."

The man chosen was Sir John Allen, the Mercer, who, by deed of 24th June, 1524, had already become a benefactor to his fellow citizens. Stow records of him "that he was a man of great wisdom and also of great charity and (by the King's appointment) of his Council;" the latter fact strengthening the presumption that the choice was made under the influence of Cromwell.

Page 158.

Sir George Barnes was a member of the Haberdashers' Company, and a patron of the "New Learning." When Lord Mayor, Edward 6th sent for him to attend at Whitehall on the 10th April, 1553, to receive the gift of Bridewell, which had been built by Henry 8th for the reception of Charles 5th, to be used thereafter as

¹ Col. Spanish Papers, p. 552.

a workhouse for the poor and idle people of the City. By his will of the 15th February, 1557, he was a benefactor to his Company for their almshouses in Staining Lane, and he gave two messuages on London Bridge to the parish of St. Bartholomew, Royal Exchange (in which church he was buried), for white bread for the Communion, and also fifteen penny loaves every Sunday to the poor folk, and the residue of the rents for repairing of the Church.

Page 173.

On the north side of the Chancel in St. Andrew's Undershaft, there is a monument to Sir Thomas Offley, with this inscription:—

"Intomed in this monument here rests a worthy wight,
President Alderman, sometyme Maior S^r Thomas Offley, knight,
In Stratford borne, whose liberalness y^t towne doth seme to know,
Such were the benefits one them y^t there he did bestowe.
A father grave, a consull wise, good counsell for to give,
For eighty-twoe yeares in good faime, he semed here to live.
This knight in mariage wth one wyfe, fitye-two yeares outspent,
Dame Jone her name, intombed here; three sonnes y^e Lord them sent,
Of which it pleased God above by death to call for two,
Henry doth live, his father's heyr, God grant him well to doe.
Of Merchant Taylors he was free, the Staple's chefest stave,
His dealing not for whome the poor continually do pray."

Sir T. Offley.

Dame Jone.

1582.

1578.

Page 283.

See the directions to the Aldermen of each Ward for putting this Vagrant Act into operation, printed in 1572, as No. 64 of the Broadsides of the Society of Antiquaries.

Page 340.

William Copland, the Junior Warden of 1514, was Churchwarden of Bow Church, Cheapside, in 1515-16, and gave the great bell to be rung daily at 9 o'clock, P.M., and which was first rung as a knell at his burial. He was also the King's Merchant.

CORRIGENDÄ.

Part I, page 168, line 20. For "perpetuality" read "perpetuity."

Page 213. In heading, for "wards" read "words."

Page 244. Cancel note 1.

Page 330, line 30. For "£20 Gs.," read "£20,640."

Page 408. For Churchman "Thomas" read "John."

Part II, page 15, line 21. For "1587" read "1487."

Page 106, in note, for "Latin" read "Letter."

Page 147. In passage beginning "His behaviour," &c., strike out these words, "Notwithstanding the recent death of his wife." The passage so altered should be inserted in p. 146, after the passage ending with "2l. 10s."

Page 149. In 10th line read "Oundle" for "Rundle," and in 12th read "Juddle" for "Sadde."

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